

BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY'S
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BRISTOL
CHARTERS

1378—1499

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PUBLICATIONS

General Editor: PROFESSOR DAVID DOUGLAS, M.A.

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VOL. XI

BRISTOL CHARTERS

1378—1499

REFERENCE

A THE ANGLO-SAXON BOROUGH

B THE CASTLE

C AREA ENCLOSED BY EARLY NORMAN WALL

D SUBURB BEYOND THE CASTLE

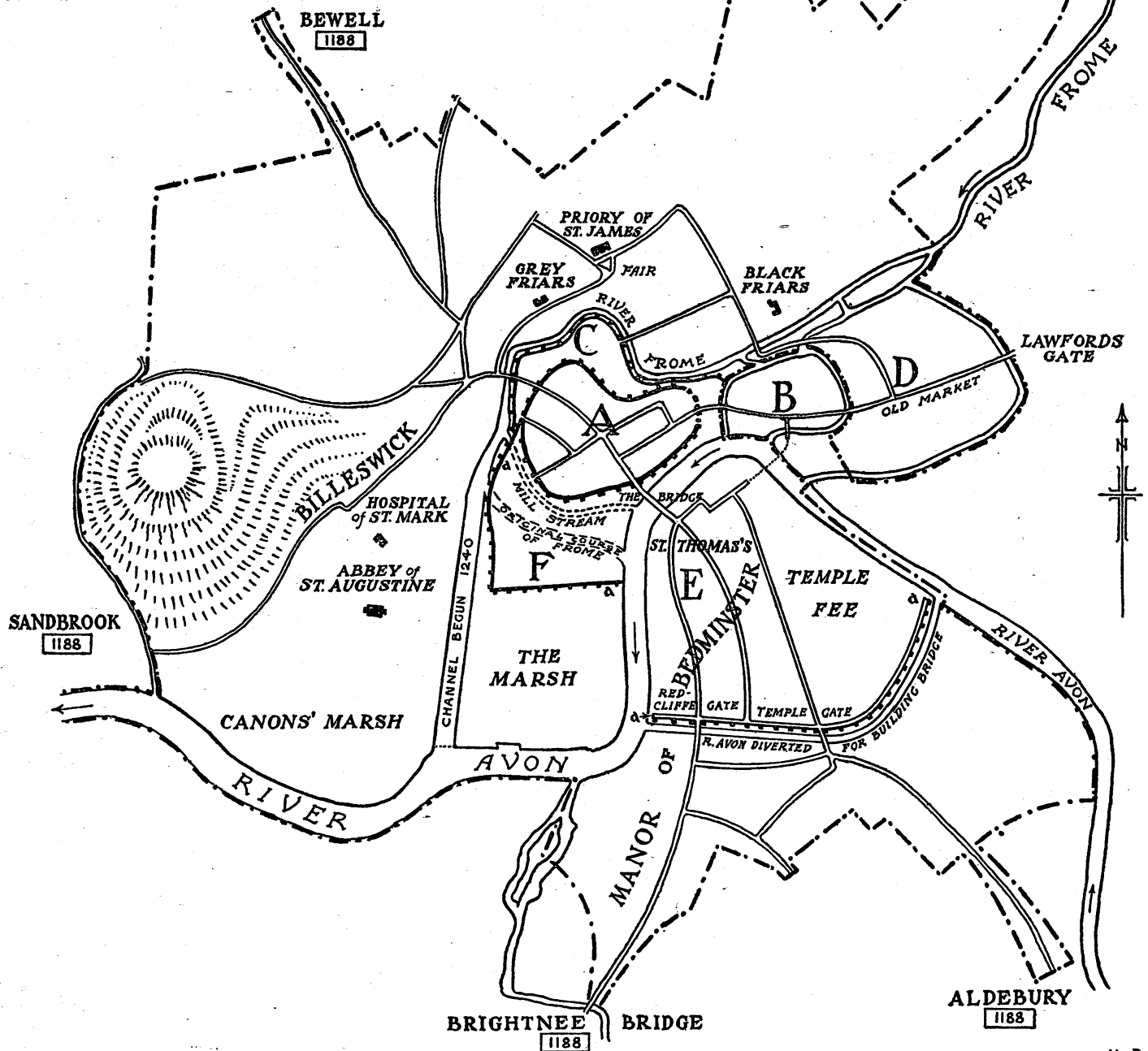
E TWELFTH CENTURY URBAN DEVELOPMENT

F THIRTEENTH CENTURY EXTENSION

—•—•— THIRTEENTH CENTURY WALLS

1188 BOUNDARY POINTS OF 1188 CHARTER

--- BOUNDARY OF THE COUNTY OF
BRISTOL, 1373



BRISTOL CHARTERS

1378—1499

EDITED BY

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University of London, King's College*

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THIS BOOK
IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED
TO
MY FRIENDS
AND
COLLEAGUES IN BRISTOL
1939 - 1943

PREFACE

THIS brief adventure in a field other than my own resulted from the war-time evacuation of King's College to Bristol. I would first express my gratitude to the Bristol Record Society for the privilege of undertaking it at a time when the opportunity of working on manuscripts was denied to so many.

The publication of the royal charters and letters patent issued between 1378 and 1499, preserved in the Archives of the Corporation, is a necessary sequel to the work of Miss N. Dermot Harding in the first volume of this series. Though perhaps less interesting than those of the earlier period, they include the charters of the Lancastrian kings, which Seyer was unable to print, and enable us to follow the last stages in the development of Bristol's medieval constitution. These later documents are characteristically prolix and repetitive, and it was felt that no useful purpose would be served by providing such complete translations as were possible in Miss Harding's volume. The place of translations has been taken by abstracts, which it is hoped will give a sufficient indication of the contents of the documents. The rules of transcription adopted in the first volume have been followed here.

The previous volume of *Bristol Charters* as well as the present one falls within the scope of the Introduction. It is a wide field, presenting many interesting problems; and these it has been my intent merely to indicate, since my own limitations and those imposed by the war have permitted no more than a survey of them.

My thanks are due to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Bristol for access to their Archives. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Miss Elizabeth Ralph, not only for her courtesy when I was transcribing the documents in the Council House, but for valuable help at every stage, and the infinite pains which she took in answering innumerable questions. I have also to thank Mr. M. R. Cottam of the Town Planning Office for the map which illustrates the growth of medieval Bristol, and for his draughtsman's skill in translating my explanation of what was required

into an accurate plan. Detail has been omitted in order that the successive stages in the growth of the borough may be seen as clearly as possible. I am indebted to Miss Edith E. Williams both for information on matters concerning Redcliffe, and for helpful criticism of my views on the problems of its early history. Mr. W. L. Cooper has shown me much kindness, and I very gratefully acknowledge his assistance in planning the volume, and the generous readiness with which he made available the resources of Bristol University Library. Professor D. C. Douglas, the General Editor of the series, has given precisely the encouragement and help which were invaluable in the later stages of the work. Professor R. Dudley Edwards of University College, Dublin, and Father Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., have given me much valuable information about the early history of Bristol's daughter town of Dublin and Anglo-Irish relations. My friend Mr. Charles Johnson provided me with a transcript of an important entry in a Curia Regis Roll, and this is the least of many causes of my deep indebtedness to him. My colleagues, Professor C. H. Williams, Dr. H. H. Scullard, Mr. R. C. Latham and Mr. I. P. Shaw have laid me under an obligation by undertaking that most essential and thankless task, the reading and criticism of proofs. My wife has contributed both historical criticism and information, besides the help and patience for which gratitude can never be adequately expressed. The opinions presented in the Introduction, the shortcomings and the errors of the volume, are peculiarly my own.

Last, but not least, I have to express my thanks to the University of London for a grant from the Publication Fund in aid of the production of this volume.

H. A. C.

King's College,
Strand, W.C.2.
December, 1945.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes to the Introduction and the texts :—

- B.B.C.* . . . British Borough Charters.
- B.G.Trans.* . . . Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.
- B.T.* . . . Carl Stephenson, *Borough and Town: A Study in Urban Origins.*
- C.C.R.* . . . Calendar of Close Rolls.
- C.Ch.R.* . . . Calendar of Charter Rolls.
- C.F.R.* . . . Calendar of Fine Rolls.
- C.P.R.* . . . Calendar of Patent Rolls.
- D.B.* . . . Domesday Book.
- E.H.R.* . . . *English Historical Review*
- G.R.B.* . . . The Great Red Book of Bristol.
- G.W.B.* . . . The Great White Book of Bristol.
- H.E.L.* . . . Sir F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *History of English Law* (1895 ed.).
- L.R.B.* . . . The Little Red Book of Bristol.
- M.B.* . . . Samuel Seyer, *Memoirs Historical and Topographical of Bristol.*
- M.E.B.* . . . James Tait, *The Medieval English Borough.*
- V.C.H.* . . . *Victoria County History.*
- Vol. i* . . . N. Dermot Harding ed., *Bristol Charters, 1155-1373.* (Bristol Record Society, vol. i, 1930.)

INTRODUCTION

BRISTOL HISTORIANS AND BRISTOL CORPORATION ARCHIVES

BRISTOL has not lacked, since times remote, her historians and antiquaries. Some of the most stirring pages of her medieval history are illuminated by the pen of an unknown monk of Malmesbury, whose account of the events of the great insurrection of 1312-16 reveals local knowledge of a detailed and circumstantial kind, and an interest both in Bristol affairs and in those of the House of Berkeley.¹ A century and a half later, while Thomas Norton of Bristol was invoking the poetic muse in celebration of his fancied discovery of the elixir of life and the secret of transmuting metals,² two of his fellow citizens were engaged in works of preservation far more enduring. William Wyrcestre, or Botoner, a herbalist and physician, an indefatigable traveller and a diligent antiquary, spent much of his time in surveying and pacing out the town. His *Itinerary* is a work of some value to students of Bristol history, and he was the author of *Annales Rerum Anglicarum* and other works. His contemporary and, one would like to think, his friend Robert Ricart, the Town Clerk, in *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*³ bequeathed to posterity a precious volume, containing statements of the customs and usages of the town, and the duties of its officers. He approached his task in a spirit of becoming pride in his native town, and with the admirable intention of showing its importance in the history of the kingdom. His work begins with a history of England before the Norman Conquest, drawn largely from Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose fatal charm was still potent in the fifteenth century. The second part is an abridgement of the Chronicle, of the so-called Matthew of

¹ *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II* (R.S.), ed. William Stubbs, ii, p. 155 ff. "Monachi Cujusdam Malmesberiensis Vita Edward II."

² Thomas Norton was an M.P. for Bristol in 1436, and a member of Edward IV's Privy Chamber, sometimes employed on embassies. He was alive in 1477. See *D.N.B.*

³ Camden Soc., New Ser., vol. v. (1872), ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith. Ricart became Town Clerk in 1479. William Wyrcestre died about 1482.

Westminster, and continues the story, with special attention to local events and personalities, to the end of the reign of John. The third part of this historical introduction, beginning with the coronation of Henry III, contains a list of the mayors and chief officers of Bristol from 1216 down to Ricart's own time, interspersed with brief annals, mainly of local interest. It was a labour of love, which must have been accomplished at the cost of much painstaking research.¹

Seyer, in his *Memoirs of Bristol*, recorded the existence of a number of manuscript calendars or chronicles of a kind similar to that of Ricart. He himself had seen a number of them; and a portion of one in curious (and to the present day Bristolian, ironical) circumstances, for it was found in the casing of a rocket which fell in a neighbouring garden. He estimated that as many as forty or fifty were still extant at the time when he wrote. Most of these, but not all, he tells us, were written "within the last 200 years," but were evidently derived from more ancient copies, transcribed by various hands.² Such calendars are not peculiar to Bristol. They testify not only to the practical need of many individuals and institutions with interests in the town for memoranda of official matters, but also to a widespread interest in local events of a memorable kind. One of the best known is that of William Adams,³ a seventeenth-century worthy of whom little is known except that he was a royalist. The entries come to an end in 1639. He does not appear to have made use of Ricart's *Calendar*, but based his annals upon those of three other compilers of his own stamp, Jenkins, Kedgwin, and another unnamed. Certain of these calendars are of importance for the correction of a number of Ricart's mayoral dates, which are a year late.⁴ This inaccuracy probably arose from an attempt on Ricart's part to reconcile discrepant regnal, mayoral and calendar years.

It was not till the latter half of the eighteenth century that the publication of histories of Bristol began. The city and its antiquities, besides exciting the fleeting interest of fashionable

¹ *Vide infra*, pp. 13-4.

² Seyer, *M.B.*, i, Preface, pp. x-xi. A number are preserved in Bristol Central Reference Library.

³ *Adams' Chronicle of Bristol*, ed. F. F. Fox (1910). See *B.G.Trans.*, xxxiii, p. 140.

⁴ See A. E. Hudd, "Two Bristol Calendars," in *B.G.Trans.*, xix, pp. 105-41.

travellers and valetudinarians who visited it, could not fail to arouse the historical and antiquarian instincts of some of its sons. None was so rapt by the contents of "that old jumble-box of History" as Thomas Chatterton who, sadly, has a place in Bristol historiography because of both his destructiveness and the influence of his "Rowley Manuscripts" upon Barrett, and those who drew upon Barrett's work. *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, by William Barrett, surgeon, F.S.A., published in 1789, was the first modern history of Bristol. It was, for this reason alone, a very important work, and it was professedly compiled from "original records and authentic manuscripts in public offices and private hands." It does, in fact, contain a considerable amount of important material whose authenticity has been established by subsequent research; a fact which, alone, is a telling comment upon the nature and value of the book. Barrett rarely quoted his authorities, except in the vaguest way, though he quoted from them; he was most uncritical in his use of them, and he was taken in by Chatterton.

Bristol was fortunate in that Barrett was followed by a man of outstanding ability. The Reverend Samuel Seyer, master of the Royal Fort School, and subsequently Rector of Filton, will stand comparison with the best local historians of his own or any generation. The quality of his work is such that one is tempted to regret the confinement of his attention to the history of his native city, for his erudition and the excellence of his historical method would undoubtedly have made a notable contribution to the history of England. The citizens of Bristol and students of her history are indebted to him for two important works.

The Charters and Letters Patent granted by the Kings and Queens of England to the Town and City of Bristol was published in 1812. That the work is an unsatisfactory one, as Seyer himself fully realised and deplored, and that the present volume of charters and its predecessor are necessary, is not due to his shortcomings as a historian and an editor. The fundamental defect was the result of the necessity which he found of basing his texts upon Charles II's charter of confirmation, as contained in a Bodleian transcript.¹ Apart from the editorial difficulties which this involved, and the errors which had naturally crept into a late *Insperimus*, none of the charters of the Lancastrian kings were

¹ Bodleian MS. Rawlinson, 247.

included in it.¹ "This difficulty would," as he said, "have been reduced to nothing if I could have procured access to the Originals in the Council House." His reasoned request for permission to transcribe the originals was met by a curt intimation from the Town Clerk that it could not be complied with; but the Corporation "in Common Council assembled" had a very understandable cause for its refusal. Seyer was an active member of a strong opposition party which was growing up in the City, and his attitude, and possibly his acerbity towards the Corporation, may have invited the rebuff which he so strongly resented. He made no secret of his annoyance in the preface to his *Charters*; more than hinted that he believed the Recorder to blame; and roundly told the Corporation what he thought of them. He admitted that, personal issues apart, there might be other reasons for refusal of access to the Archives, and referred to the case of the Corporation of Newcastle, "who lost town-dues of great value in consequence of information contained in Mr. Brand's History of Newcastle." This statement is perhaps significant, for town dues were precisely the bone of contention in Bristol some years later, and trouble was already brewing in 1809 when Seyer was refused access to the records.

In circumstances so unhappy and inauspicious it is to Seyer's credit as a historian—and perhaps testimony to his earnestness as a municipal reformer—that he persisted in his project, and produced an edition of the City Charters based upon the Rawlinson transcript. Galling as it was for him to have to publish texts which were not entirely reliable and complete, he considered it infinitely better to do so than to allow Bristol historians to rely upon existing versions. The English translation of Charles II's confirmation, published in 1736,² was "executed so very ill that it scarcely deserves serious consideration." It was the falsity and unintelligibility of this text in numberless places that encouraged him to publish his own Latin version, broken up into its constituent charters, together with translations. In the circumstances he did his work well.

Seyer had a further reason for publishing these texts. It is best given in his own words:³

¹ Eight of these charters are printed in the present volume. Charles II's Charter is an *Inspecimus* of that of 18th August, 2 Charles I, with the addition of the two charters granted by him.

² *Bristol. The City Charters, etc. . . . Diligently Compar'd with, and Corrected according to the Latin Originals.* Felix Farley (Bristol, 1736).

³ Seyer, *Charters*, v.

"Beside the local interest which is attached to these Charters, a collection of progressive records, such as the present, cannot but be useful to historical antiquaries in general. In tracing the history of the English nation, he who confines his reading to the common compilations will still be very deficient in this important study: contemporary writings of all kinds must be resorted to; old chronicles must be perused and, above all, laws and records; one day thus spent will give more insight into the manners, the character and opinions, as well as the transactions of a distant age, than thrice the time employed in reading the best *History of England*."

Seyer is known to students of borough history by his imperfect *Charters*: he should be much more widely known by his *Memoirs, Historical and Topographical, of Bristol*,¹ in the Preface to which he further elaborates the same theme.

He saw before him a choice of three methods of presenting historical material: the narrative; the editorial method; and the method of quotation, which, in his hands, was a blending of the best features of the other two. He considered that the author who chose the narrative method would find it difficult to resist the temptation of striving for fame by the elegance of his literary composition, to the detriment of the truth and certainty of history. "Facts of short narration are frequently omitted: dates are seldom inserted; authorities not strictly quoted; and differences in dates and authorities very seldom reconciled." These were, indeed, precisely the faults of many contemporary historical writers; and, in particular, Seyer must have had very much in mind the work of Barrett, not for any *curiosa felicitas* which it exhibits, but because of its uncritical nature and lack of sound historical method.² Ideally, it is clear, he himself would have preferred to adopt the editorial method; the painstaking collection and accurate transcription of original material, from which, with the aid of editorial comment, the student might obtain the information he desires. He insisted with vehemence that the true seeker after knowledge must, at every point, have access to source material; to contemporary writers no less than to records, since their words re-create for him, as no modern composition can, the ages in which they wrote. "By studying them," he says, "our youth will draw their notions of the English Constitution

¹ Two volumes, 1821-23.

² This does not imply that Seyer made no use of Barrett's work. He was, on the contrary, indebted to Barrett for a good deal, and he fully acknowledged his debt.

from as high a source as possible, in the stream of time, and not from the turbid channels which party writers of later times have deduced for themselves." The very words might have been written by Stubbs half a century later. As a result of such study Seyer saw that local history assumes, as it should, a national character, and "the pursuits of the Antiquary are blended with those of the Historian, from which they should never have been separated." Views so enlightened, expressed at this date, entitle Samuel Seyer to profound respect.

Seyer put his precepts into practice in exemplary fashion. Happily he obtained almost unrestricted access to the Corporation Archives for the composition of his *Memoirs*—a very unpretentious title for a valuable work. Throughout his narrative he quoted his authorities freely and with meticulous accuracy; and he used not only local records, but also every national source that was available to him in print. There were few problems of Bristol history that he did not grasp; and although the deficiencies of contemporary historical knowledge, and the lack of convenient means of reference to whole categories of sources, prevented him from elucidating many of them, his was, in his day, the supreme virtue of presenting fully, and precisely documented, all the original information which he had succeeded in collecting. At every point of importance, and in every matter of uncertainty, he took particular care to quote at length the relevant evidence which he knew. He never sought to evade an issue, or to conceal his own lack of knowledge; but rather made it his business to draw attention to both. He was ignorant, for example, and frankly admitted his ignorance, of the nature and purpose of the cocket. Its significance in Bristol, a staple town, was therefore unintelligible to him, and he failed to comprehend a point of some importance in the genesis of the Bristol insurrection in 1312. But he saw quite clearly that, for some reason, it was important; and he emphasised it in such a way that it could not fail to catch the immediate attention of those coming after him, who, knowing that of which he was ignorant, might comprehend what had eluded him. It is true that much of what he wrote, especially of Bristol's earliest history, will not bear critical investigation in the light of modern knowledge; but, in the main, it is the less essential parts of his work that have to be stripped away. When this is done, there remains a solid, firmly-constructed framework, which has stood, and will stand, the test of time. Samuel Seyer towers above every other historian of Bristol, and the best of those who

have followed him have paid him fitting tribute by making his work the basis of their own.

Seyer's contemporaries and immediate successors in the field of Bristol history were, at best, mediocre. Their bent was antiquarian rather than historical, and they were quite unfitted to carry Seyer's work beyond the point at which he had left it. Even though they persistently committed the faults for which Barrett stood condemned, it would be unjust to include them all without distinction in a single, sweeping commination. There are few local histories, however bad, from which some valuable, or even unique, information may not be extracted; if only from the "biographical notices of Eminent and Distinguished natives" in which they delighted. These writers, ill equipped though they were, and their fellows in other cities, had the merit of keeping alive an interest in borough history. From the time of Madox¹ till the last decade of the nineteenth century, when Maitland, Mary Bateson, Gross and others took it up and transformed it, this study was almost entirely in local hands.

Corry and Evans' *History of Bristol* (1816) is uncritical and unreliable for the medieval period. John Evans's *Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol* (1824) was designed as "a book of moderate bulk, which might be alike interesting to the resident and the stranger . . . one which has no higher aim than to sharpen the public appetite for a course of reading and inquiry that cannot fail to repay whatever pains and attention it may be possible for probationers in local history and topography to share with other desirable pursuits." It probably succeeded in its modest object, even though it followed the old annalistic tradition. Evans made some use of Seyer's work, but, in general, his annals of the middle ages are of scant use to any modern reader. None the less, some of the topographical and antiquarian information embedded in the book, such as, for example, about the ancient conduits of the town, is of value. It is indeed in the preservation of intimate local knowledge of the writers' own times, which might otherwise have perished, that the real value of such books lies for the local historian, and their importance in this particular must never be underestimated.² Dallaway's *Antiquities of Bristowe* (1834) has some additional interest, because it contains William Wyrcestre's

¹ Madox, *Firma Burgi* (1726).

² The Rev. G. Heath's *Complete Guide* (2nd ed., 1797) may also be mentioned.

Itinerary for Bristol. *Illustrations of Bristol History* (1853) by S. Lucas, and Price's *Popular History of Bristol* (1861), may be mentioned as evidence of continued public interest in the history of the city, though the latter hardly merits very serious consideration.¹ Works on specific aspects of Bristol history were also undertaken before the middle of the nineteenth century. One such, *The Calendars of Al-Hallowen, Brystowe* by Henry Rogers (1846) attracts the attention of the modern student, not only because it concerns the most ancient of Bristol gilds, but because the author, as Vicar of All Saints Church, in which Ricart may once have been Vestry Clerk, had access to its then existing records and books.² Unfortunately, little confidence can be placed in Rogers's work.

The later part of the nineteenth century saw, as we should expect, not only the growth of better informed interest in the history of Bristol, but a notable enhancement of the scholarly quality of published works on the subject. It is especially in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, beginning in 1876, that we must look for the most valuable contributions to Bristol history since the time of Seyer. Of many worthy contributors, one may perhaps be singled out as an example of most excellent scholarship. The Reverend E. A. Fuller, by his publication in their pages of Tallage Rolls and of Plea Rolls, and by his scholarly handling of them, rendered the best kind of service to local and to general history. There were others who contributed in a similar way, such as E. J. Watson in his *Pleas of the Crown Taken at Bristol, A.D. 1221* (1902), nor must the work of the Somerset Record Society be forgotten.³

The later nineteenth century histories of Bristol were fewer than those of the earlier period, but more reliable. In 1872 John Taylor produced *A Book about Bristol*; and a decade later he co-operated with J. F. Nicholls in the production of *Bristol: Past and Present*.⁴ The first volume, by Nicholls, is concerned

¹ His unscholarly attitude is illustrated by his use of Barrett's inaccurate list of the Mayors of Bristol in preference to Ricart's list, on the ground that "it is perhaps as correct as any other, and the only one with which the popular reader can be at all familiar."

² See L. Toulmin Smith, *Ricart's Kalendar*, Introduction, i.

³ The early Somerset Pleas which it has published throw much light on Redcliffe and Temple Fee.

⁴ Three volumes (Bristol, 1881). Both Nicholls and Taylor were frequent contributors to the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*.

with the general history of Bristol, and is in no sense a work of original research. He drew freely upon earlier historians, especially Seyer, and condensed the material in popular form, with many illustrations. Nicholls was prone to the besetting sin of his time, that of interpreting the Middle Ages in terms of the nineteenth century, and even in matters of fact he is not always the most trustworthy of guides. The second volume, by Taylor, which deals with Bristol's ecclesiastical history, is the better of the two. Like its companion volume, this is a work not of original, but of secondary, research. It contains a very useful, if not completely reliable, survey of the churches of Bristol, and a history, no less useful, of the Fair of St. James. These two volumes, in spite of shortcomings, are valuable as works of reference. The "Historic Towns Series," inspired and inaugurated by E. A. Freeman, includes a volume on Bristol by William Hunt (1887). Unpretentious and scholarly, it gives us what is still perhaps the best brief introduction to the history of the city, but the lack of references is a serious drawback.

The last industrious worker of the old school of history, and one who felt also the strong influence of the new, was John Latimer. Happier, perhaps, in his *Annals* of modern Bristol, he none the less made a not inconsiderable contribution to the study of medieval Bristol in his *Calendar of Charters, etc., of the City and County of Bristol*, published posthumously, and without his final revision, in 1909. He had the freest access to the ancient Archives of the Corporation, and made very good use of his opportunities; but he was sometimes guilty of curious lapses, which led him to wrong identifications of documents, and to very wrong conclusions based thereon. The purpose of his *Calendar* was to give a chronological list of the charters and letters patent of Bristol, including those which had been omitted from the edition of Seyer, together with notes on their purpose and scope. In compiling these notes he made careful search through the Calendars of Close, Patent and other Rolls, filling in from them a considerable number of details which are not to be found in Seyer's volumes, though unfortunately his references are seldom given, and there is no index. His work is one for which those who follow in his footsteps have much cause to be grateful, since it provides a most useful appendix to Seyer's *Charters*; and, in its factual details, though not in all the author's deductions, it is in the main accurate and dependable. His major blunders were the attribution of an *Inspeximus* of the Gaunt's Charters of 27th March, 2 Henry VIII to

Henry VI,¹ and a Pardon of 16th May, 1 Henry VIII to Henry VII.² The longest single section of the book is devoted to an account of the insurrection of 1312-16, in which it is surprising to find that Latimer did not make use of Fuller's splendid article;³ and he devoted some space to a useful, though necessarily sketchy examination of the Parliamentary franchise. Lacking Seyer's stature and breadth of view, he was none the less a patient labourer and a worthy disciple.⁴

The Archives of the Corporation of Bristol which are especially relevant to the study of the royal charters and letters patent require no elaborate introduction in these pages, but a very brief description of the most important of them may perhaps be of convenience to readers who are not familiar with them.⁵

The oldest and most important record is the Little Red Book, which is a register of a kind that many towns found necessary in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1344 William de Colford, then Recorder of Bristol, caused to be set down in this book the ordinances, customs and liberties of the Commonalty, and other "necessary things to be inviolably kept in perpetual

¹ The text is printed in this volume, pp. 192 ff; Latimer, *Calendar* 98-100.

² Noticed in this volume at p. 162; Latimer, *Calendar*, 123-4.

³ *B.G.Trans.*, xix, p. 175.

⁴ The foregoing section is not intended as a comprehensive bibliography of Bristol history, but simply as an indication of the way in which its study developed. More recent contributions to it have, for various reasons been omitted, but some are referred to in connection with Bristol archives. See Gross, *Bibliography of British Municipal History*, 178-81, and *V.C.H.*

⁵ These are listed in *Bristol Charters*, vol. i, pp. xix-xxiii. Two corrections are necessary in the list of royal charters and letters patent. The general *Inspeximus* in favour of the Hospital of St. Mark, Bristol (Gaunt's Hospital), listed on p. xix as [1423] 27 Mar., 1 Hy. VI. (No. 01218), belongs to 1510, and appears on mm. 20 and 21 of part 7 of the *Confirmation Roll* for 1 Henry VIII. The royal Pardon, listed on p. xx as [1486] 16 May, 1 Hy. VII. (No. 01228), was issued by Henry VIII in 1509. Much information about the Archives is to be found in Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*; and they have been described by Miss N. Dermot Harding in *B.G.Trans.*, xlviii, pp. 227 ff. Reference should also be made to L. Toulmin Smith's Introduction to her edition of *Ricart's Kalendar*; to F. B. Bickley's edition of the *Little Red Book* (2 vols., 1900); to Dr. E. W. W. Veale's *Great Red Book of Bristol* (Bristol Record Soc.); to Miss E. M. Carus-Wilson's *Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages* (Bristol Record Soc., vol. viii); and to E. E. Rich, *The Staple Court Books of Bristol* (Bristol Record Soc., vol. v). J. F. Nicholls, "The Ancient Charter Privileges of the Bristol Freeman," in *B.G.Trans.*, iii, pp. 128 ff., is not a complete guide to these, nor is it an entirely trustworthy estimate of their significance. See also his article in *Trans.R.Hist.S.*, vol. i. (1875), p. 88. Latimer's *Calendar* is much more valuable for its purpose.

remembrance," for, he tells us, many good customs had been abused, and some almost forgotten. In that year forty-eight burgesses, whose names are set down in the book, were elected to assist the Mayor in ensuring the better government of the town.¹ This is the first record of the Common Council which was confirmed as an integral part of Bristol's constitution in 1373, though its membership was then reduced to forty.² Next, Edward III's charter of 1331, confirming the town's liberties and customs, and adding thereto the right to hold view of frankpledge,³ is copied, and the forms of the oaths (in French) to be sworn by the borough officials are given. The Mayor and Common Council considered the old customs and ordinances and amended them, besides adding new ones. Thirty-five revised ordinances are copied in the book,⁴ and are followed by those of some of the Crafts, which are also amended and confirmed. A further set of town ordinances of the later fourteenth century, called *Proclamationes Ville Bristollie*, and important ordinances made in 1381 are also included.⁵ The Little Red Book contains a large number of miscellaneous documents, including the claims of the burgesses of other towns to freedom from toll, and abstracts of ordinances and statutes. The treatise on the *Lex Mercatoria*, and the "Roules de Oleroun" are well known, and of special interest. The Little Red Book became the official memoranda book of the Mayor and Commonalty, and entries continued to be made in it down to 1574.

The revised ordinances of 1344 provided that all wills of burgesses, in which lands, tenements or rents are bequeathed, shall be proved in full Hundred before the Mayor and two *probi homines*. Such wills, being proved, were to be inserted in full in a paper (*in papiro*), to be kept in the treasury where the common

¹ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i, p. 24.

² *Vol. i*, pp. 136-7. There is an earlier reference to the Mayor's *consiliarii* in the custumal of *circa* 1241—Corpus Christi College MS. No. 405. *Vide infra*, p. 76.

³ *Vol. i*, pp. 78-81.

⁴ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i, pp. 28-44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 224-32; i, pp. 110-13. An early Bristol custumal, in thirty-two brief chapters, is contained in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. No. 405, ff. 236b-239a. It is an ill copy in an early fourteenth-century hand, but the original draft was probably made before 1241—See Bateson, *Borough Customs* (Selden Soc., vols. 18 and 21), i, Introduction, p. xx, *et passim*.

seal was placed, under the seal of the mayoralty, "so that they whom such wills concern may have their recovery again of such record, if they shall again require or wish to have it in law."¹ Similarly, the charter of 1373 contained the provision that "the said Mayor of the town of Bristol, for the time being, shall have the power to receive and record recognizances of charters and other writings whatsoever touching lands and tenements, rents and other tenures within the same town . . . so that such charters and writings, duly enrolled in the rolls of the Guildhall . . . shall be from that time of record . . ."² Finally, in 1381, the Mayor and Council provided for the safe keeping of records and documents in the Guildhall, or in some other privy place, under lock and key. The Mayor and two or three other men were to have keys, "so that every man can have copies of the records when need be."³ It was as a consequence of such provisions that the Great Orphan Book of Wills was begun at the end of the fourteenth century.⁴ The Great Red Book, which contains a large number of deeds, was probably intended as a record of the transactions referred to in the charter of 1373.⁵ It contains also ordinances and documents of a public nature, and in this respect forms a supplement to the Little Red Book. Most of its entries relate to the later fourteenth, and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it also contains a number of thirteenth⁶ and early fourteenth century documents, which are a mine of valuable information. The Great White Book of Records, begun at the end of the fifteenth century, forms yet another supplement to the Little Red Book, and, like its predecessors, includes copies of a number of royal charters and letters patent.⁷ For medievalists the most valuable

¹ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i, pp. 32-3.

² *Vol. i*, pp. 132-3.

³ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i, pp. 110-11.

⁴ Three volumes were eventually filled. See T. P. Wadley, *Notes or Abstracts of the Wills in the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills* (Bristol and Glouc. Archæol. Soc., 1886).

⁵ E. W. W. Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol* (Bristol Record Soc., 3 vols.).

⁶ Kirby's Quest is included.

⁷ Two corrections should be made in the list of these given in *vol. i*, p. xxi: For "8 Aug., 37 Ed. III," read "8 Aug., 47 Ed. III," and for "5 Feb., 3 Ed. IV," read "An incomplete copy of the *Insuperimus* of 5 Feb., 3 Hy. VII."

part of it is the record of a prolonged dispute between the Mayor and Sheriff of Bristol and the abbot of St. Augustine's. This "variance" centred upon the Hospital of St. Mark of Billeswick, the right to hold a law-day within the precincts of the Abbey, and a dispute about suit. It was settled by the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1496; and the bills and replications, recorded in the Great White Book, throw much light on earlier history.

The three historical sections of *The Mayor of Bristowe is Kalendar*, compiled by Robert Ricart, have already been mentioned. It was admirably edited for the Camden Society in 1872 by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, and is fully described in her introduction. The fourth part of the *Kalendar* is the most interesting. In Ricart's own words it shows "the laudable costumez of this worshipfull Towne, and of the eleccion, charge, rule, and demenyng of thonourable Maire, Shiref, Baillifs, and othir officers of the same Towne in thexecuting and guidyng of theire said offices during theire yeres. With other manyfolde fraunchisez, libertees, and diverse comendable vsages and ordenaunces of tyme oute of mynde grauntid, hadde, vsid, and accostumed in the same Towne." He urged all who should be elected to municipal office to read, "or do to be redde and overseen," his book, to the end that they might the more efficiently fulfil their duties and maintain the town's franchises, liberties and customs. The fourth part, therefore, describes the manner of electing the Mayor, and the customs connected therewith, besides the swearing-in of the officers, and many matters concerning the government of the town. The fifth part contains a transcript of Edward III's charter of 20th December, 1374, together with a summary of the contents of the charter of John, Count of Mortain, granted in 1188, which Ricart copied from the Little Red Book.¹ The sixth and last part bears witness to friendly relations between Bristol and London, for it consists of a collection of London ordinances "wretin oute of a boke that was maistir Henry Daarcy sometyne recorder of London in kinge Edward the thirdes daies." Henry Darcy was Mayor of London in 1337 and 1338, but there does not seem to have been any Recorder of his name during Edward III's reign. Miss Toulmin Smith was of opinion that the book in question may have been the *Magnus Liber de Chartis et Libertatibus Civitatis*,

¹ *L.R.B.*, f. 11b.

which was in existence in 1327.¹ Ricart's successors continued to insert, in the blank leaves which he had left between the several parts, the names of the chief officers of the city, and also various other documents, giving the *Kalendar* a somewhat confused appearance. It has been absorbed into the Archives as a register of civic officials.

The various late transcripts of charters and other documents preserved in the Corporation Archives are listed in the first volume of *Bristol Charters*, and call for no comment.² A large number of deeds is preserved in the Council House, the earliest dated 1293, which are of great value and importance for the study of local history.³ Finally, the two surviving medieval Tolsey Court Books for the years 1477-8 and 1480-1 are sources of some importance for economic historians.⁴

THE EARLY GROWTH OF THE BOROUGH OF BRISTOL

THERE are no problems in Anglo-Saxon history more thorny than those connected with the early development of boroughs. From the fragmentary and often ambiguous nature of the evidence it follows that some are wholly insoluble, and that many points of detail are, and will long remain, in dispute. The early history of Bristol in particular is so obscured in the mists of unrecorded time that we can catch only rare and fleeting glimpses of the authentic borough. When the legendary accretions accepted by Barrett, John Evans and others have been swept away, and the more scholarly speculations of Samuel Seyer and later historians panned out by modern historical criticism, the residuum of genuine evidence is distressingly scant. It is not, however, insignificant; for even though the few facts known about Bristol can add little or nothing to the corpus of knowledge about the pre-Conquest English borough, they can at least be interpreted in the light of it.

¹ See *Ricart's Kalendar*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, xx-xxi; 95-113.

² Vol. i, pp. xxi-xxii.

³ See also F. B. Bickley, *Calendar of Deeds relating to Bristol* (Edinburgh, 1899).

⁴ See E. M. Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages* (Bristol Record Soc., 1936).

Successive workers have investigated the symptomatic marks of the early borough:¹ its official character, its fortification, the payment of the "third penny" to the earl or sometimes to the sheriff,² its inclusion of tenants of the king and of other lords, its market, its mint, and the existence of a court co-ordinate with the rural hundred. Tait, enquiring which of these features constituted the minimum necessary to differentiate a borough from any other royal vill, considered that the existence of a court, a mint and heterogeneous tenure were not, from this point of view, essential. The public and official character of the borough implied in the earl's right to share its revenues with the king, possibly originating in the fortification of the site, seemed more important.³ But he believed that, after the reconquest of the Danelaw, the defensive aspect became secondary, and the borough primarily a centre of trade and administration. Tait would, therefore, stipulate as minimal burghal criteria in the middle of the eleventh century, trade, and free tenure without which trade would have been hopelessly cramped and hindered. That is to say, the borough's possession of a market, its existence as a *port* or official place of trade, and the holding by its inhabitants of free rent-paying tenements, were the very essence of its burghal status. The individual borough might possess any or all of the other characteristics, which were destined to play a highly important part in future development; but there was no uniformity in this respect, and in particular many of the small boroughs of the south-west seem to have lacked, in pre-Conquest times, an independent court. There are indications that Bristol may have possessed all the characteristic borough institutions in the middle of the eleventh century.

¹ See James Tait's definitive study, *The Mediæval English Borough* (1936). Carl Stephenson's radical and stimulating approach in *Borough and Town—A Study in Urban Origins* (1933), made a valuable contribution to the subject by re-stating certain vital problems and throwing them into high relief; but Tait (*op. cit.*) rejects his most fundamental theses after searching criticism. F. M. Stenton, in *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943), 518–36, gives a lucid and masterly summary of the characteristics and development of the pre-Conquest borough. The works of F. W. Maitland, Mary Bateson, Adolphus Ballard, Charles Gross and M. de W. Hemmeon are still highly important. Reference should be made to E. W. W. Veale's detailed study 'Burgage Tenure in Mediæval Bristol,' in *The Great Red Book of Bristol* (Bristol Record Society), vol. i, Introduction.

² The third penny of the borough is to be carefully distinguished from the third penny of the shire. It was the third penny of the total revenues, not the third penny of the pleas.

³ See also Stenton, *op. cit.*, 526–7.

The etymology of the name Bristol¹ indicates the existence of a bridge there : the lowest point in its course where the water of Avon could profitably and conveniently be spanned. The site of the original *burh* was admirably adapted by nature for defence ; a knucklebone of land rising steeply, though to no great height, from the Avon and from the encircling arc of the little river Frome, whose original channel joined it a short distance below the bridge. It was a position to command the obviously important river crossing besides the approach from Severn Sea through the Avon gorge, and the safest and most convenient berthing-places for ships. But defensibility and fortification, important though they were, could not alone ensure for Bristol an urban future : for this the borough must also possess special advantages for trade or administration, or both. The very features which constitute the military importance of a site are often precisely those which make it also a vital commercial and administrative centre, and such is the case of Bristol. Its situation marks it out as a probable nucleus of early trade ; but whether settlement preceded fortification, or followed it, is impossible to determine.

Two silver pennies of the reign of Æthelred II, bearing as was customary the name of the moneyer who struck them, ÆLFWERD ON BRIC., were probably minted at Bristol ;² and there was a mint in the borough in the reign of Canute.³ This bespeaks a demand for coin in the area and probably, though not necessarily, an active trade in the place where the mint was located. There is clear evidence of Bristol's importance as a seaport, and a very strong probability that it was also a trading centre of considerable note in the generation before the Norman Conquest, if not indeed

¹ The early form *Bricgstow* or *Brycgstow* is eventually modified to *Bristow*, which continues to be used in vernacular documents till a very late date. In some early Latin documents the form used is *Bristowa*, and in Domesday, *Bristou*. In view of the local peculiarity of speech, which adds an *l* to words ending in a vowel, the use of the *Bristol'* form in Latin, and not as a rule in vernacular documents, is intriguing. It goes back as far as the immediate post-Conquest period, and later becomes the normal Latin form. It seems as though the Chancery scribes learned the pronunciation *Bristol* at a very early date, and spelt the name accordingly. A long list of variant spellings is given by Seyer, *M.B.*, 280-1 ; and a short one by Madox, *Firma Burgi*, Preface, viii.

² See H. W. Henfrey, in *B.A.A. Journ.* (1875) ; and J. Drummond Robertson, "The Mint of Gloucester" in *B.G. Trans.*, x, p. 27, who notes a Bristol-minted coin from Stockholm. An Ælfwerd appears as a moneyer in Bristol in the reign of Harold I.

³ *Catal. of Coins in the Brit. Mus., Anglo-Saxon Ser.*, ii, p. 257 ; and F. York Powell, in *E.H.R.*, xi (1896) 761. Coins on the model of those of Æthelred II and Cnut were struck at Dublin, which is suggestive of Anglo-Irish trade.

much earlier. An entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells how, after the outlawry of Godwine and his sons in 1051, Harold and Leofwine came to Bristol, and fled in a ship which their brother Swegen had lying there, to take refuge with Diarmid, king of Leinster.¹ Another entry records Harold's naval expedition to Wales in 1063, which set out from Bristol, a natural base for such an undertaking.² A third entry chronicles the arrival in the Avon in 1068 of a fleet from Dublin, led by the sons of Harold, who landed and attempted to take the *burh* of Bristol by storm, but were driven off by the *burgware*.³ These events in themselves are of no very great importance in the history of Bristol, but their implications are significant. Bristol is explicitly referred to as a *burh*, though the evidence so far adduced gives no clear indications of its burghal characteristics, beyond the fact that it was a fortified place with a population capable of beating off a dangerous attack, and that a mint was established there. The men of such a fleet as the sons of Harold brought from Dublin were likely to have had the thought of plunder uppermost in their minds, and we may perhaps believe that Bristol was a place worth the sacking, besides being an important stronghold.

In the view of Dr. Carl Stephenson the *burgware* of Bristol were "burgesses of the old type,"⁴ that is, landowners and fighting-men, for he cannot conceive that burgesses of another kidney could be expected to play the part of warriors. This view follows from his conception of the early English borough as essentially a permanently organised stronghold closely connected with the surrounding rural area, often the centre of an administrative district, and dominated by agrarian rather than mercantile interests; and his belief that the development of mercantile communities is an eleventh century phenomenon, attributable mainly, though not exclusively, to Norman influences. The military and administrative character of many boroughs, and their intimate agrarian connections none will dispute; but if we accept the view propounded by Tait, we shall see in the pre-Conquest borough something more than "a piece of the countryside walled off," and regard its inhabitants as a distinctive class.

¹ Plummer and Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, i, 175. In 1052 the Vikings of Dublin were overcome by Diarmid, whose house long retained its overlordship.

² *Ibid.*, 191.

³ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁴ *Borough and Town*, 202.

That there were arrangements for the garrisoning of Bristol at this time we may take as certain, but there would be nothing incongruous about the participation of its mercantile inhabitants in its defence. There is indeed every reason to believe that, from the nature of their trade, these early Bristol merchants were also warriors, for whom a comparison were best sought in the Elizabethan age.

The Chronicle entries which have been referred to make it clear that Bristol was already a seaport of some importance, a natural place of arrival and departure for both Wales and Ireland. Viking settlements brought a lively trade to the northern shores of the Bristol Channel in the later tenth century, while the Norse colonies in Ireland, older and more important, were prosperous trading centres. There can be little doubt that in the eleventh century, if not indeed earlier, Bristol had come to participate in this trade by reason of her favourable situation. Probably she had a well developed trade with Ireland, and it may well be with other Norse colonies, with Scandinavia and with the Biscay region. Bristol is referred to in Malmesbury's *Life of Wulfstan* as a maritime place (*vicus*) from which there is a direct passage to Ireland, and therefore convenient to that barbarous land.¹ The story of St. Wulfstan's suppression of Bristol's sordid but lucrative slave trade with Ireland is too well known to need repetition. The men of Bristol won for themselves a very unsavoury reputation as kidnappers, and were known, even in later times, for their predilection and talent for piracy. Clearly the Irish trade in the eleventh century was no business for timid and peace-loving merchants, nor was it a suitable avocation for land-owners domiciled in a borough, whose chief concern was with the monotonous agricultural round and the affairs of an essentially rural community and its defensive centre. We may well believe that the burgesses of Bristol in the middle of the eleventh century, whatever their other characteristics as a group, included a number of virile and enterprising seafaring traders, trammelled by few nice scruples, and well able to safeguard their own interests and make their influence powerfully felt in the affairs of the borough.² We may recall, too, the statement in the eleventh-century treatise "Of People's Ranks and Law," that a merchant who "fared

¹ *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. R. R. Darlington (Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., xl), 42.

² Canon Bazley, in *B.G. Trans.*, xxi, p. 41, does not rule out the possibility that the earliest settlers in Bristol may have been Danish pirates; but there does not seem to be evidence of any kind in support of such a view.

thrice over the wide sea by his own means" was worthy of thegnright, and believe that not a few Bristol traders must have qualified for such distinction. The presence of men of this type in a borough must have made the need for a special borough court both obvious and urgent, and they would undoubtedly have played a prominent part in it as defendants, plaintiffs and suitors.

The problems connected with early borough courts are fraught with peculiar difficulty and controversy,¹ and the situation in Bristol is even more obscure than in many other boroughs. There is no early evidence to show whether or not the boundaries first mentioned in the charter of John, count of Mortain, in 1188 represent those of an ancient administrative district of which Bristol was the centre, as Professor Stephenson suggests.² They cut across the ordinary divisions of the shires and constitute a problem which requires investigation. Whatever the nature of the court to which the inhabitants of Bristol owed suit, it must be borne in mind that trading interests were perfectly capable of stimulating communal feeling outside, and apart from, the court; while within it the active and influential element would tend to consist of the wealthiest and most experienced members, who were as likely as not to be traders. Further, the very fact that a somewhat heterogeneous population lived within the ramparts of a borough inevitably meant that interests and ways of life differing from those of the surrounding rural population would develop. This in turn must have given rise to peculiar difficulties, and the need for innumerable adjustments, which only a borough court could deal with satisfactorily. The need for such a court must have made itself felt at an early stage. There seems to be no documentary evidence of pre-Conquest date for the existence of any court in Bristol, but a very interesting bilingual writ of William I (c. 1076-83) appears to have a bearing upon this question.³ It is addressed to William de Courcelle (Sheriff of Somerset), and directs him to see to it that (*intromittas ut*) Peter's Pence is paid at Michælmas by the king's men, and also by free

¹ Reference should be made to the works referred to on p. 15, n 1. above and especially to Tait, *The Mediæval English Borough*. See also J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Constitutional History of Mediæval England*, 314-5.

² Stephenson, *op. cit.*, 202 ff. See Jolliffe, *op. cit.*, 124-7.

³ *Liber Albus* (Wells), p. 18. Printed in Hubert Hall, *Formula Book of Diplomatic Docs.*, 52.

and unfree ;¹ and this he is to notify at Montacute and Bristol. It is difficult to see how such a proclamation could have been made, if not in a court, which may have been in the case of Bristol the hundred court meeting in the borough, the first explicit reference to which occurs in the charter of 1188.²

The Domesday evidence relating to Bristol is meagre and scattered, but significant. The very interesting entry relating to the manor of Clifton tells us that, in the time of the Confessor, it was held free of farm by Sewen, the reeve of Bristol, who might go with the land where he would.³ A. S. Ellis was probably correct in his view that this estate was not held by Sewen in his capacity as reeve of Bristol.⁴ The borough of Bristol is included with the manor of Barton in Edredstane Hundred, as *terra regis*.⁵ The record as a whole, though it must be supposed to have provided the king with all the necessary information about Bristol and Barton, by no means performs this service for the historian. It seems clear that Roger [of Berkeley ?], who received the manor from the king, did not hold the borough at the time of the Survey. The description of the manor has been misinterpreted by C. S. Taylor, who states that it had been increased from two hides when Roger received it to six hides in 1086.⁶ This amounts to an unwarranted reversal of the data supplied by Domesday Book, and a palpable misconstruction of its opening statement. "In Bertune apud Bristou erant vi hidae" must refer to the time of king Edward, not to that of the Survey. In 1086 or when Roger received the manor there were two hides in demesne, the church of Bristol⁷ held three hides, and a radknight held one hide, namely

¹ The English version reads "of minan mannun, and sythan oelchen thegne and hire mannun"; the Latin, "de hominibus meis et preter de liberis et servis."

² *Vol. i*, p. 10.

³ *D.B.* ii, 170a.

⁴ "The Manorial History of Clifton," in *B.G.Trans.*, iii, p. 213.

⁵ *D.B.*, ii, 163a.

⁶ *Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire*, (B.G. Arch. Soc., 1899), 199-201: "It would seem that four hides had been added to the manor since Roger received it, but where they lay, or whence they were derived cannot I think be discovered."

⁷ C. S. Taylor, loc. cit., says that the churches of Bristol held three hides; but the word in Domesday is the singular *ecclesia*. See also 'The Chronological Sequence of the Bristol Parish Churches' in *B.G.Trans.*, xxxii, pp. 202 ff; though it is very questionable whether he has correctly established such a chronological sequence.

six hides in all. It is therefore unnecessary to seek the explanation of a fictitious increase in the hidation of the manor, which so puzzled Taylor to account for and, naturally, puzzled him still more to locate. Such an increase, if it had in fact taken place would have to be considered in relation to the (fiscal) hidation of Edredstane Hundred as a whole.¹ Two profitable mills belonged to the manor of Barton. Since mill sites, if not the actual mills, are likely to be fairly permanent, it seems probable that, as in later times, one was situated on the river Frome, north-east of the borough (subsequently known as Castle Mill); and the other on a millstream to the south of the borough (later called Baldwin's Cross Mill).

The manor of Barton and the borough of Bristol together paid 110 marks of silver, and the *burgenses* said that bishop G[eo]ffrey of Coutances had 33 marks of silver and one mark of gold in addition to the king's ferm. The precise nature of the position which bishop Geoffrey held in Bristol is obscure,² but this payment looks very much like the third penny of the borough.³ If so, and if the mark of gold be reckoned at the usual rate of nine marks of silver, it appears that the total ferm of the borough of Bristol was 126 marks, of which the king received 84; and that the ferm of the manor of Barton was 26 marks.⁴ Only two other brief entries in Domesday Book throw any light upon Bristol. The manor of Westbury[on-Trym], in Gloucestershire, which belonged to the bishop of Worcester, had appurtenant to it two houses in Bristol, rendering sixteen pence.⁵ Similarly ten houses were appurtenant to the land in Bishopsworth, in Somerset, which was held of the bishop of Coutances by Herluin, but no rents are mentioned

¹ See J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, 44 ff. Domesday shows no change in the hidation of Edredstane Hundred. Taylor's calculation of the acreage of the manor of Barton on the basis of 120 acres to the plough team is of course unsound.

² See J. H. Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Montbray, Bishop of Coutances,' in *E.H.R.*, lxi, p. 154. It is generally assumed that he was castellan.

³ A. S. Ellis, 'Landholders of Gloucestershire named in Domesday,' in *B.G. Trans.*, iv, p. 108, believed that it was the third penny. Hunt, *Bristol*, 14, thought that Geoffrey "may have had some of the rights of an earl there." He seems to have had the third penny of Barnstaple (*D.B.* ii, 100a; 102a.).

⁴ See Latimer, *Calendar*, 17, who correctly gives the total ferm of Bristol and Barton as £101 6s. 8d., and Seyer, *M.B.*, who thought that Barton may have paid about £16.

⁵ *D.B.* ii, 164b.

in connection with them.¹ There were, therefore, in Bristol at the time of the Survey tenements belonging to the two most important local magnates, as well as tenements belonging to the king.

The evidence which has been examined here, though some of it is circumstantial and all of it slight, is sufficient to show that the mid-eleventh century witnessed the vigorous infancy of Bristol. In so far as such a comparison may bear witness to its relative wealth and importance,² the probable ferm of £84 may be compared, for example, with the £300 of London and Middlesex,³ the £100 each of Lincoln and York, the £80 of Wallingford, the £76 of Chester, and the £60 of Gloucester. Another guide to the relative importance of boroughs is to be found in the number of moneyers they possessed. In Bristol, in the reigns of the Confessor and the first two Norman kings, there were not fewer than two moneyers, and it seems probable that there may have been as many as five. In the reign of William I, this compares with nine or ten in London, seven, decreasing to two, in Lincoln, eleven, decreasing to four in York, two or three in Wallingford, three to six in Chester, and four in Gloucester.⁴ Most of the symptomatic marks of the early borough can be discerned in Bristol: a strategic position, fortification, a mint, trade, tenurial heterogeneity, and rent-paying tenements. There was a royal reeve; quite probably there was a court co-ordinate with the rural hundred; and it seems as though Geoffrey of Coutances may have received the third penny of the borough. When Dr. Stephenson says of Bristol, "we have a Saxon borough treated by the Norman invader as if it were a *ville neuve*, and who shall say that in many ways it really was not one,"⁵ he transfers the onus of proof to those who would gainsay him. His statement can be neither sustained nor refuted on purely factual grounds. It cannot be categorically asserted that the *burgenses* of Bristol yet possessed any community of privilege, or

¹ D.B. ii, 88a. Two houses in Bath rendering ten pence are also appurtenant to this land.

² See Tait, *M.E.B.* 154, who points out the dangers of relying upon such comparisons. "The royal demesne, from which the item of rents came, was a variable quantity, and . . . though the number of burgesses or inhabited houses seems at times to show a rough correspondence with the renders, it is subject to startling exceptions."

³ See J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 352.

⁴ See G. C. Brooke, *Catal. of Eng. Coins in the British Museum, Norman Kings*, i, pp. clx—clxxxviii; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 529—30.

⁵ Carl Stephenson, *op. cit.*, 133 ff.

the organization necessary to win and preserve it, even though they appear to speak as a body at the Domesday Inquest. There remain, however, arguments in favour of continuity of borough evolution, and the probability that urban liberties developed orally for some time before they were embodied in formal charters.

The castle is not mentioned in Domesday, but this does not necessarily mean that it had not yet been built, for it was described as a place of great strength when bishop Geoffrey and Robert de Mowbray held it against Rufus.¹ Since it was erected outside the existing borough, it was presumably unnecessary to destroy any houses to make room for it. The erection of the original *motte* is generally ascribed to the bishop of Coutances, who may have built it at William's orders; but it was not till the time of Robert, earl of Gloucester, that the great stone keep was raised.² Probably bishop Geoffrey was also responsible for building a wall, running from the north-west corner of the castle along the course of the Frome to the middle of the western rampart of the old borough, and enclosing a roughly sickle-shaped piece of land, which had lain on the slopes outside the earlier defences. Although this first enlargement of the borough may have benefited the burgesses, by giving them some room for expansion,³ its primary purpose was clearly the military one of reinforcing the water defences on the Frome.⁴ The castle itself was placed on the neck of the peninsula formed by the Avon and the Frome, as it has been said, like a stopper in a bottle, and it dominated the borough most effectively. The whole site, strong by nature, had been turned into a formidable fortress which, save for the absence of the stone keep, must have been very much as the author of the *Gesta Stephani* saw it in 1138, "seeming to float upon the waters and sit upon their banks." Indeed, prior to the reign of Henry II we hear of Bristol mainly as a stronghold. The accounts both of the rebellion of 1088 and of the wars of Stephen's reign, give a strong impression that its inhabitants retained their old spirit of militant enterprise, lending

¹ See E. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles*, 110-2; and Le Patourel, loc. cit.

² *Monasticon*, ii, p. 61.

³ The charter of 1188 concedes to the burgesses all lands and vacant places, but it may be doubted whether, after a century's development, there were any vacant lots in the area in question.

⁴ Possibly the attack upon the borough by Harold's sons in 1068, which was delivered from the landward side, had emphasised the need of strengthening these defences.

willing and experienced aid when the castle garrison was engaged in local warfare and pillage, and especially when these activities were directed against the neighbouring town of Bath. It was the direction of her burgesses' ebullience into more profitable channels that, above all else, ensured Bristol's astonishing growth in the succeeding centuries.

The succession of Bristol's Norman lords is well known. After the death of Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, the castle and borough passed into the hands of a feudatory of the highest rank, Robert fitzHamon, lord of Creully in Calvados; recipient of vast estates in Gloucestershire and elsewhere which had once been held by queen Matilda; conqueror of Glamorgan; princely benefactor of Tewkesbury. Upon fitzHamon's death this great inheritance passed by marriage to Robert, the illegitimate son of Henry I, who was created earl of Gloucester. Earl Robert made Bristol a main centre of his power, and inaugurated that intimate connection of the town with the Angevin house which was of such importance in its subsequent history. During the reign of Stephen it was the principal headquarters of the Empress in England. It was in Bristol castle that Stephen passed his brief captivity in 1141,¹ and there too the future Henry II spent four of the formative years of his boyhood. Robert was succeeded in 1147 by his son William, under whom Bristol lost nothing of its importance. His exchequer, the only baronial exchequer of which we have clear evidence, was located in the castle,² and it is testimony to its importance as an administrative centre and *caput honoris* that the Honour of Gloucester was sometimes referred to by contemporaries as the Honour of Bristol.³ In 1175 earl William was required to surrender the castle to the crown.⁴ John Lackland, count of Mortain, was made his heir, and upon William's death in 1183 the Honour and Earldom of Gloucester were taken into the King's hand, and passed to John who subsequently married William's daughter Isabella in 1189. Although, after the annulment of this marriage, the earldom passed into other hands, the castle of Bristol remained a royal stronghold, and the town, Barton, and Forest of Kingswood were retained by the crown.

¹ Stephen was not the first royal prisoner to be held in Bristol castle, for Robert, duke of Normandy, had been incarcerated there for a time.

² See F. M. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, 68-9; 266.

³ See *Pipe Roll*, 7 R.I., 123, where certain lands in Huntingdonshire are described as "de honore de Bristowe."

⁴ *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (R.S.), i, pp. 51; 61.

It is an index primarily to the generosity of the benefactors, but also in some degree to the growing importance of the town that, within the walls, the church of St. Peter's was rebuilt by Robert fitzHamon, St. Ewen's by earl Robert, and St. Mary-le-port by earl William, while Trinity and All Saints belong to the same period.¹ While these lords of Bristol cared well for their souls' health, they had a shrewd Norman eye to the main chance, and they undoubtedly appreciated very well the financial and other benefits which would accrue to them from a thriving port and mercantile community. Unfortunately no charters granted by them to Bristol have survived, but there can be no doubt that they made the necessary concessions to the welfare of the borough. The charter which the burgesses had of John, count of Mortain, in 1188, conceded to them all the liberties and free customs which they had in the time of any of his predecessors, and also all their reasonable gilds as they best had them in the time of earls Robert and William.² The history of the Bristol gilds, on this evidence, goes well back into the twelfth century. Craft gilds in London, Lincoln, Winchester and elsewhere are mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, and it is possible that such gilds may have existed in Bristol at least as early as the time of earl Robert. Gross pointed out that, while the gild merchant was peculiar to boroughs, it was absent from some of them, and that gild and borough were often treated in charters as distinct conceptions. It is possible that earl Robert or Robert fitzHamon authorized a gild merchant in Bristol, even though such a grant in itself might not have made it a burghal liberty in the strict sense³. It may not be without significance in this connection that one of the earliest known references to a gild merchant occurs in a charter of Robert fitz-Hamon to Burford (1087-1107).⁴

Dr. Stephenson suggests that if we take away the articles in the charter of 1188 which are copied from London, a residue of elementary liberties remains, which bear a strong resemblance to those of such boroughs as Cardiff and Tewkesbury, and which may

¹ See Taylor, *Chronological Sequence of the Bristol Parish Churches*, loc. cit.

² Vide *infra*, pp. 57 ff. A full translation of this charter is given in *Vol. i*, pp. 9-13. John, count of Mortain, is of course the future King John.

³ See Tait, *op. cit.*, 210-11; also C. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, ii, p. 24 ff, where the evidence relating to the Bristol Gild Merchant is examined, and *infra*, pp. 64 ff.

⁴ C. Gross, *op. cit.*, i, p. 5; ii, pp. 28-9.

have been confirmed to Bristol by Robert fitzHamon or his predecessor.¹ This suggestion is justifiable, since it is not pressed too far; but it must be emphasized that such a method of dealing with charters is a highly dangerous one. We cannot simply strip away putative accretions from the charter of 1188, and state that the residue represents earlier grants of liberties. It may well be the case that Bristol owed to Robert fitzHamon an early confirmation of exemption from the rigours of feudal control without which there could be no genuine urban development; but this needs confirmation. It is possible that the common lords of Bristol, Cardiff and Tewkesbury granted these towns the same, or very similar, liberties: it is certainly true of the last mentioned two.² Now, remembering that Dublin received the liberties of Bristol, it is interesting to bring together a clause from a confirmation of the liberties granted to Tewkesbury by Robert and William, earls of Gloucester,³ and a clause in a version of a charter of Strongbow, granting to Savaricus Sellarius of Exeter a burgage in Dublin, to be held in fee of the king.⁴ The custom of Tewkesbury is stated as follows:—

“Et quod nullus extraneus reciperetur per seneschallum clericum seu per aliquem alium ex parte ipsorum comitum ad essendos infra libertatem predictam nisi testificatum fuerit per legales homines burghi predicti quod esset bonus et fidelis.”

An apparently pertinent clause in Strongbow's charter reads:—

“Hoc ei dedi et concessi ex parte domini regis Anglie et consensu et assensu civium Dublinensium, sibi et heredibus suis.”

This bears upon an ancient and fundamentally important burghal-right, the right of the burgesses to a voice in the admission of strangers, which may afford an explanation of the “consensu et assensu civium” of Strongbow's charter. It is possible that

¹ Stephenson, *op. cit.*, 133 ff.

² Bateson, *Borough Customs*, i, p. xxi; Ballard, *B.B.C.* “Hae sunt libertates et liberae consuetudines de Kerdif et de Theokesburia datae et concessae per Robertum et Willelmum comites aliquando Gloucestriae.” See also Veale, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 14 ff.

³ Chart. R. 11, Ed. III (1337), m. 10.

⁴ J. T. Gilbert, ed., *Register of St. Thomas, Dublin (R.S.)*, i, pp. 369–71. This charter was brought to my notice by Father Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. Gilbert prints two versions, the second of which omits the clause quoted, besides a number of witnesses.

Dublin, and therefore the mother town of Bristol enjoyed, in this respect, the same rights as Tewkesbury ; but such a provision is not an uncommon one, and the argument must not be strained. It is not at all unlikely that the customs of Bristol may have served as a model for those of Cardiff and Tewkesbury, but careful investigation and much clearer evidence are necessary to demonstrate this as a probability or establish it as a fact.

William of Malmesbury described Bristol as, about 1125, a prosperous port, having connections with Ireland, Norway and other lands beyond the sea,¹ but it is only in the reign of Henry II that record evidence begins to enable us to see more clearly the nature of the town's growth. The first extant royal charter, that of 1155,² which grants the burgesses freedom from toll, passage and all custom throughout England, Wales and Normandy, was perhaps in some sort a reward for their loyalty to the Angevin cause during Stephen's reign. It testifies to Bristol's growing commercial importance, which no doubt owed something to the close connection with the continental dominions of the House of Anjou, and the constant coming and going of troops, emissaries and notabilities, when the castle was their headquarters in England.

Early Pipe Rolls, notably those of 17 and 18 Henry II (1171-72) show that Bristol merchants were engaged in the wine trade. John's charter of 1188 significantly forbids strangers to have a tavern except in a ship, and later records of all kinds abound in evidence of the extent and great importance of this branch of Bristol trade. There is also clear evidence, both in the Pipe Rolls and in the charter of 1188, of a trade in wool, hides, corn and raw materials.³ No early grants of fairs have survived, but there is a reference to a fair at Bristol as early as 1183-84.⁴ One satirical remark in a story told by Richard of Devizes suggests that soap-making was the mainstay of Bristol's industry, but, while it was no doubt important, this typical piece of contemporary humour is

¹ W. Malmesb., *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (R.S.), 292. *The Annales de Margan* (R.S.), ii, contain, under the year 1124, the interesting entry "Et gens Noricorum vinens in autumnno, hyemavit apud Bristollum."

² *Vol. i*, p. 2.

³ *Pipe Roll 2 John*, 125: "Robertus de Tresgoz debet. c. et. xvij. li. de quadam nauī carcata de. xlvij. saccis lane et. j. blanchetto et. vj. petris lane."

⁴ *Pipe Roll 30 Hen. II*, 110. See also Latimer, *Calendar*, 14.

not to be taken quite at its face value.¹ Much more significant is a passage in which William of Malmesbury tells of the importance of the English trade with Ireland, and contrasts the rude poverty of the native Irish with the civilization of the English and French who inhabit the towns.²

There can be little doubt that Bristol's growing prosperity was due in a considerable degree to this developing Irish trade. The statement that the English and French inhabited the towns before the Norman expedition to Ireland is significant when taken in conjunction with Henry II's grant of Dublin, in 1171, to his men of Bristol to inhabit with all the liberties and free customs which they enjoyed at Bristol.³ Apart from their already established connection with Dublin, there were many reasons why the men of Bristol should receive so important a concession. Bristol's long and close association with the Norman and more especially with the Angevin royal house, entitled her to preferential treatment by Henry II, who had as much reason to favour her as to treat London with contrasting severity. Chester also had a very ancient and intimate connection with Dublin, and a trade which is borne witness to in Domesday;⁴ but Henry had very little cause to feel gratitude towards earl Hugh, son of the self-seeking and unscrupulous Ranulf de Gernons, and himself subsequently a rebel in 1173. It seems clear that the Bristolians sought to exclude their Chester rivals from the benefits of the Dublin trade, and Henry was obliged about 1175-76 to confirm the right of the burgesses of Chester to buy and sell in Dublin as they had done in the time of Henry I.⁴ The Pipe Rolls show that Bristol played an important part in the

¹ R. Divis., *De Rebus Gestis Ricardi Primi* (R.S.), 438. "Apud Bristollum nemo est qui non sit vel fuerit saponarius, et omnis Francus saponarios amat ut stercorarios." The story relates the alleged martyrdom of a French boy by the Jews of Winchester. The Jewish agent, into whose clutches the boy had fallen, characterised the towns of England in uncomplimentary terms, giving reasons why the prospective victim should avoid them and proceed without delay to Winchester. There was a flourishing Jewish community in Bristol at an early date, about which there is a good deal of information. See C. Roth, *History of the Jews in England*.

² W. Malmesb., *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (R.S.), ii, p. 485.

³ Text in *Vol. i*, pp. 6-7. See also R. Dudley Edwards, "the Beginnings of Municipal Government in Dublin," in *The Dublin Historical Record*, vol. i (March, 1938), pp. 2-10. The importance of Bristol's early political connection with Ireland manifests itself in many small incidents. In 1141, when Robert, earl of Gloucester, was taken and threatened with perpetual imprisonment by the royalists, his countess replied with the threat of sending the captive king Stephen to Ireland. Again, it was to Bristol that Diarmid Macmurchada came when he sought Henry II's aid.

⁴ See J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, 465-7.

preparations for the royal expedition to Ireland, and beyond a doubt the invasion brought an influx of Bristolians and burgesses of many English towns to Dublin and other Irish towns.

Without attributing to Henry II any love of communes¹ (for Bristol was in no sense a commune), we may see in the grant of Dublin to the men of Bristol an extension to the Lordship of Ireland of a policy which the early Angevin kings followed consistently, and with considerable success in Gascony, though with less gratifying results in Poitou.² This was the policy of winning the loyalty of the towns by grants of economic and municipal privileges, endeavouring to make them centres of royal influence and of defence, a source of profit to the crown, and a counterpoise to the turbulent feudatories. There were two vital prerequisites for the success of such a policy, namely, the amenability of the towns to a measure of effective royal control, and a natural, close and mutually profitable trading connection with England. In the case of Poitou the economic bond was weak, and by no means vital to her prosperity, and the policy ended in disastrous failure in 1224. In Gascony, on the other hand, the economic tie with England, constituted mainly by the wine trade, was strong enough to keep the towns more or less loyal to the English crown; and Gascony remained an English province when the remainder of the Angevin "empire" had disintegrated. The Angevin policy towards the towns is not of course the only factor to be considered, but it is a very important one.

Regarded from this point of view, Ireland falls into somewhat the same category as Gascony. The trading connection of the Irish towns with England was essential to their prosperity. Further, if, as William of Malmesbury tells us, an Irish king could be brought to reason by the suspension of trade and shipping, the same sanctions might not be without effect upon the newly established Anglo-Irish feudatories, "for what value could Ireland be if deprived of the merchandise of England?"³ The Angevin town policy stood a reasonable chance of success in Ireland. Dublin was economically one of the most important of the Irish towns, and destined to be the seat of administration. What could be more fitting than that this town should be established anew as a dependency of the loyal town of Bristol? A charter such as that

¹ See Tait, *M.E.B.*, 162; 176-7.

² See F. B. Marsh, *English Rule in Gascony*, *passim*.

³ W. Malmesb., *loc. cit.*

which granted Dublin to the Bristolians may well be, in some respects, simply the confirmation of a *fait accompli*. In the light of the evidence of earlier connections between Bristol and Dublin, it is reasonable to believe that Bristol traders had settled there long before 1171. Henry II's charter gave them a status which they had hitherto lacked, and the privileges necessary for their welfare which they had already secured at home; while the acquisition of the liberties of Bristol was destined to be of outstanding importance in the future development of Dublin and the Irish boroughs which were modelled upon it.

Evidence of the extent of early Bristol colonization in Dublin is disappointing. A very early list of Dublin burgesses or gildsmen, which has been attributed to the closing years of the twelfth century,¹ contains a small minority (little more than a dozen names) of men "of Bristol," while there are many who bear the names of towns throughout England, especially the west and south-west, and, as we should expect, south Wales. Evidence of this nature is not of very great value for the present purpose, and the list of names is in fact such as might be found in any contemporary town of importance. The name of a town combined with a personal name is not an infallible proof that its bearer was a citizen thereof, though it does bear witness to his antecedents and connections. We find in Bristol itself many burgesses bearing the names not only of places in the neighbourhood, such as Chew, Keynsham and Cheddar, but also of distant towns such as Cardiff, Barnstaple and London. It may be that many of the names in the Dublin list which have no place-names appended are those of Bristol men, for the same names can be found in Bristol; but it is just as likely that they are not. There is no more pernicious genealogical sin than the alluringly simple assumption that identity of name is equivalent to identity of person. The charters of Henry II to Bristol and Dublin, and those of John to Dublin² are sufficient proof of the reality and importance of the connection between the two towns, which was doubtless drawn closer by John's personal position in relation to the one and his official position in relation to the other before he became king.³

¹ J. T. Gilbert, ed., *Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland* (R.S.), viii-ix; 3-48.

² *Ibid.*, 1-2; 49; 51; 57.

³ Hunt (*Bristol*, 24) cites the dedication of the church of St. Werburgh in Dublin as an illustration of the connection between the two towns; but this may be attributed with equal, if not greater, probability to the influence of Chester.

Bristol's growing prosperity and importance in the twelfth century are reflected in the development of her suburbs. Settlement in the area around the Old Market, between the castle and the town ditch, probably began at an early date, and it has even been suggested, though not on convincing evidence, that the nucleus of such a settlement existed before the Norman Conquest.¹ North of the borough a settlement grew up in the vicinity of the Benedictine house of St. James's, founded by Robert, earl of Gloucester, and the fair granted to the monks gave it an added importance.

Of no less significance in the history of Bristol is the growth of population and the development of trade and industry in the area south of the bridge, on the Somerset side of the Avon. Most of this came to be connected with the manor of Bedminster, one of twelve manors which formed the ancient "Dominicatus regis in Sumerseta."² These manors were not assessed in hides in Domesday, for they were not liable to geld; but they were grouped on an ancient system for the payment to the king of the "firma unius noctis," which had been commuted for a money payment. The amount owed by the manor of Bedminster was £21 os. 2½d. It is further to be noticed that each of these twelve manors, with the single exception of Curry Rivel, was the head of an old Hundred, to which it gave its name.³

The eastern part of the transpontine area was granted by Robert, earl of Gloucester, to the Templars, and came to be known as Temple Fee. It is described in the Inquest of 1185⁴ as partly built upon by the Brethren, and partly consisting of land assessed to rent. There were twenty-eight messuages, held at economic rents ranging from fourpence to half a mark, and two other pieces of land, one of which was *in baillo*; and the gross rental amounted to £2 9s. 4d. At this time the Bristol Temple was the administrative centre of a large group of the Order's lands in Gloucestershire,

¹ It has sometimes been urged in support of such a view (e.g. Evans, *History of Bristol*, 79n), that Lawford's Gate, situated on the eastern side of the ditch, on the road to Kingswood, is a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon word *hlaford*; and that a hamlet might be expected to grow up at the lord's gate, in the vicinity of his dwelling. Hunt (*Bristol*, 36) very properly rejects this proposition, which is philologically unsound.

² It is so described in the Exon Domesday. See also *V.C.H. Somerset*, i, p. 394.

³ *V.C.H.*, loc. cit. See also Tait, *M.E.B.*, 51 ff. and H. M. Cam, "Manerium cum Hundredo" in *E.H.R.*, xlvii, pp. 353 ff.

⁴ B. A. Lees, *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century* (*Brit. Acad.*), cxxxix; 58.

Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, though it later ceased to be so, and the administration of these lands was divided between Temple Guiting and Temple Combe. Upon the suppression of the Templars this fee passed into the hands of the Hospitallers. It early became a thriving urban area, with its own market; and Bristol men, especially weavers, settled there, making it a peculiar home of the cloth industry.

Immediately adjacent to the Bridge was Arthur's Fee with a parcel called Arthur's Acre. Robert fitzHarding acquired the Manor of Bedminster, together with Redcliffe.¹ He was the reputed grandson of Eadnoth the Staller, and a personage of the greatest importance in Bristol, the reeveship of which he is said to have held.² His loyal support of the Angevin cause during the wars of Stephen's reign was rewarded by Henry II with the grant of the fee of Berkeley, whose previous lord, Roger, had adhered to the opposing side. In addition to the manor of Bedminster Robert fitzHarding acquired numerous other estates, including that of Billeswick, close to Bristol, where he founded the Abbey of St. Augustine. The possession of these lands in the neighbourhood of the borough gave the lords of the second house of Berkeley a new and powerful influence upon its affairs. In spite of their ancestral connection with Bristol, Robert's successors showed little inclination to abate their manorial rights in its favour. They rather strove, upon occasion, to enforce them with a high hand, which led to violence, bloodshed and frequent litigation even in the highest court in the land; but it must be admitted that the aggressiveness of the Bristol burgesses gave them ample cause for their uncompromising attitude.³

The early relations of Temple Fee and Redcliffe with Bristol are complicated and obscure. The rights and claims of their lords, ever most jealous of their privileges, were, in themselves, bound to conflict with the expanding interests of the Bristol burgesses; and to add to these difficulties, there was a prolonged conflict of county

¹ In 1155-6 we find in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (ed. H. Hall), ii, p. 677, under the heading *In terris datis*, the entry "Roberto filio Harding Bedmenistre pro xxx.l. blancis."

² The story that Robert's father was mayor of Bristol scarcely needs to be mentioned as apocryphal; but the fact that an alleged charter of Henry I in an *Insperimus* of Edward III (*C. Ch. R.*, iv, p. 217) mentions him as such bears witness to an enduring tradition of his importance in the town.

³ A brief account of their relations with Bristol is given in Hunt's *Bristol*, and more detailed information is contained in Seyer, *M.B.*, and Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*. Much more is to be found in Record and other sources. *Vide infra*, pp. 39-41.

jurisdiction in the thirteenth century.¹ But, while Bristol, Redcliffe and Temple Fee had conflicting interests, they had far more in common, a fact which made itself increasingly apparent as the trade and industry of the area developed. Their destiny lay in a union which was eventually consummated in the creation of the County of Bristol in 1373.

There must have been a considerable population in Redcliffe at least as early as the middle of the twelfth century.² It possessed one considerable advantage for traders, for, until the new channel of the Frome was completed in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Redcliffe bank of the Avon provided better facilities for discharging and loading ships than the Bristol side. The urban development of this area presents some very intriguing problems.

A writ-charter of Henry II, issued between 1164 and 1170, and addressed to all his barons, justices, sheriffs and ministers English and Welsh, granted that the men of his fee in the marsh by the bridge of Bristol should have all their right customs, quittances and liberties throughout England and Wales as his burgesses, and especially in Bristol and throughout the land of the earl of Gloucester, as his charter testifies.³ This must be taken in conjunction with a charter of Robert fitzHarding in the following terms:—⁴

“Robertus filius Hardinge omnibus amicis suis et hominibus presentibus et futuris salutem notum sit vobis quod ego concessi et confirmaui quod homines mei qui manent in feodo meo in marisco iuxta pontem de Bri’ habeant suas consuetudines et libertates et quietancias quas homines de Bri’ habent sicut rex dominus noster eis concessit et carta sua confirmauit et volo quod ita integre et peenarie eis manent tempore meo et heredum meorum omnium Testibus Ricardo Abbate Sancti Augustini et Willelmo priore et Jordano le Warre Harding filio Agnis et Roberto fratre suo et Adam de Saetimare et Rogero Parmenter.”

¹ *Vide infra*, pp. 35–6. The position of Temple Fee is explained by E. J. Watson in *Pleas of the Crown taken at Bristol in 1221*, 18–9.

² There is an early reference to the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe in a charter of Henry II to Salisbury Cathedral about 1158—*Reg. of St. Osmund* (R.S.), i, p. 203. Taylor—*B.G. Trans.*, xxxii, pp. 203–4—thought that it may have been founded about 1150; but his work is not wholly reliable, and there are grounds for believing that it was founded at an earlier date.

³ Text, with translation, in *Vol. i*, pp. 4–5. The copy in the Little Red Book uses the word *Sted'* in place of *feodo*. If this were genuine, it would be unique. It does not seem however to be of any real importance, and may probably be regarded as a copyist's guess at an illegible word in the original.

⁴ Text from the Little Red Book, fo. 12b. (C.T.'s Department: Customals: 04718).

In so far as they include the same concessions, the wording of the two charters is similar. They are patently related, and may be presumed to be of the same date. It is generally assumed that they refer to Redcliffe, and this can hardly be doubted in view of the confirmation by Robert's son Maurice to his men of Redcliffe of the customs, liberties and quittances which they had enjoyed in his father's time, by virtue of his charter.

These two charters are, none the less, a little puzzling. Both refer to a previous charter of Henry II in somewhat vague terms. It seems most probable that this was his grant to the burgesses of Bristol in 1155 of freedom from toll and custom throughout England, Wales and Normandy, together with their liberties, quittances and free customs.¹ It may well be believed that numbers of Bristolians had early found it both convenient and profitable to settle in the area beyond the bridge, where they came under the manorial jurisdiction of Robert fitzHarding, which threatened their rights as burgesses. The main problem is whether or not these charters created a new borough. The formula used in the royal charter is "quod . . . habeant suas rectas consuetudines et libertates et quietancias . . . sicut mei burgenses," where we might have expected to find the *liberum burgagium* formula, which was already familiar to the Chancery.² It certainly seems as though the essence of the grant is really *liberum burgagium*, which, following Tait, we should interpret as "borough tenure" rather than "burgage tenure," to avoid confusion with the use of *burgagium* for the individual tenement. While the holding of free tenements at a money rent was of fundamental importance, there are also included in the concept of *liberum burgagium* liberties and customs which were not tenurial; and these too have their place in the grant. The king ratified those wider privileges which were not in Robert fitzHarding's power to grant, namely the freedom from toll and custom which the burgesses of Bristol enjoyed by virtue of the charter of 1155. If, technically, this amounts to the creation of a new borough, it can never, from the very beginning, have been easy to mark it off as quite distinct from Bristol.

The Pipe Rolls make frequent mention of the burgesses of the bridge of Avon outside Bristol. The earliest of such references occurs in the Somerset Pipe Roll of 1165 under *Nova Placita et Nove Conventiones*, and records that these burgesses owed three marks of gold. If mere guessing were permissible, it would be very

¹ Vol. i, p. 2.

² See Tait, *M.E.B.*, 213 ff.

tempting to connect this payment with their obtaining a royal charter such as that which has just been considered. The same Roll informs us that the burgesses of Bristol owed 500 marks for a plea. This amercement is a very heavy one, and it would be interesting to know how the Bristolians had become involved in such serious trouble in Somerset. We learn in the sequel that they paid £85 of their debt in 1167; but they seem to have contested the amercement. They still owed £248 6s. 8d. *de misericordia* in 1174, the Sheriff of Somerset being unable to bring them to book, and eventually in 1176 they were pardoned by royal writ. Whether or not they claimed to be exempt from being impleaded outside the borough it is impossible, on the evidence available, to say; but at least it is very clear that the Burgesses of Bristol had some vital interests on the Somerset side of the Avon at this date. It would be rash indeed to assume any connection between this affair and the issue of the charters of Robert fitzHarding and Henry II; but it seems reasonable to suggest that the specific reference to the dwellers by the bridge as burgesses in the Pipe Roll of 1165, gives some reason for dating those charters 1164-65.

If the relations of Bristol with the area south of the bridge were difficult before this date, the recognition of the status of the latter's inhabitants as burgesses added to the confusion. Even though the charter of John, count of Mortain, granted in 1188, included the whole transpontine area within the liberties of Bristol, by placing the southern boundary at Aldebury, the organic union of Bristol with Redcliffe and Temple Fee had still to be achieved. They continued for a long time to be tallaged separately,¹ and the manorial jurisdiction of the lords of Berkeley continued to cause sporadic trouble.² Confusion was made worse confounded by doubts as to whether Temple Fee and Redcliffe should answer with Bristol before the royal justices in the county of Gloucester, or separately in the county of Somerset. Royal policy in this matter was marked by much apparent vacillation for half a century to come, for reasons which can be guessed at, but which are not at present clear. It was not till 1247 that the burgesses of Redcliffe were finally allowed to answer before the royal justices as the burgesses of Bristol answered and where they answered, and not

¹ *Pipe Rolls* of 10 Richard I, and 1, 2, 3, 5 John; *C.C.R.*, 1231-4, 209; 387. Latimer, *Calendar*, 36-8.

² See Seyer, *M.B.*, ii, pp. 78 ff.

otherwise.¹ They were answering with the Bristolians in 1221,² but subsequently the sheriff of Somerset received a mandate to cause all pleas and attachments pertaining to that part of Bristol called Redcliffe to come before the Justices in the next eyre in Somerset, since the king willed that Redcliffe should follow that county and answer therewith.³ Then, in 1229, the position was once more reversed :—⁴

“ Rex vicecomiti Sumersset salutem. Precipimus tibi quod permittas homines de Raddeclive communicare et sectam facere cum hominibus Bristoll' sicut facere consueuerunt antequam precipissemus quod tibi tanquam vicecomiti assent intendentes, et de eis aliter te non intromittas quam facere consueuisti ante predictum preceptum nostrum.”

Difficulties also arose in connection with the farm. In 1227 the Bristolians were given the borough to farm for eight years for £245 annually, “ provided that the part of the town of Bristol which is called Redcliff shall for the future answer with the county of Somerset and not with the town of Bristol.”⁵

The men of the Templars held much more aloof from Bristol than those of Redcliffe. They were separately tallaged till 1305,⁶ though in 1231 they were ordered to pay to the bailiffs of Bristol the £100 levied upon them in the last tallage.⁷ In respect of jurisdiction they claimed in 1221 that they should answer by themselves in Somerset, and not with the Redcliffe and Bristol burgesses.⁸ They were still answering before the justices in Somerset in 1326, when a petition of the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol to the King in Parliament bitterly complained of the anomaly. When the sheriff of Gloucester tried to make his executions in Bristol, the people concerned simply removed their goods across the river to Temple Fee, where they were beyond his jurisdiction.⁹

¹ Vol. i, pp. 22-3.

² See Maitland, *Pleas of the Crown for the Co. of Glouc.*, 116-7. Bristol, Redcliffe and Temple Fee had separate coroners. See also Mrs. D. M. Stenton, *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Gloucestershire, etc.* (Selden Soc., vol. 59), 130.

³ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii, 167b. The Sheriff of Gloucestershire received in consequence a writ of *non intromittas*.

⁴ C.C.R., 1227-31, 183.

⁵ C.P.R., 1225-32, 197.

⁶ R. Parl., i, 168.

⁷ C.C.R., 1227-31, 532.

⁸ Maitland, loc. cit. See also *Somerset Pleas* (Somerset Record Soc., vol. 11).

⁹ R. Parl., i, 434. Seyer, *M.B.*, ii, 135, gives a translation of the petition. The men of Temple Fee are described as burgesses of Bristol.

It is clear from all the available evidence that Bristol, Redcliffe and Temple Fee were eventually united by force of circumstances and the growth of their common interests, more than by any single act of union. The great works which were undertaken at Bristol in the early part of Henry III's reign, namely, the digging of a new channel for the Frome, at a cost of £5,000, to provide an adequate harbour, the walling of the suburbs, and the building of a stone bridge over the Avon, were achieved by the co-operative efforts of the burgesses on both sides of the river. They were by this time very wealthy communities, as may be judged from the fact that in 1210, Bristol and Redcliffe each contributed 1000 marks, and the Temple 500 marks, to the aid levied by John. They could well afford, especially with royal encouragement, to undertake these public works. The enterprise and energy of the burgesses and their financial soundness are emphasized by the fact that, in 1237, the greater part of Bristol is said to have been laid in ashes by two disastrous fires,¹ and yet, within a year or two, they were engaged in the costly new harbour works. The co-operation of the cis-pontine and the transpontine burgesses was not always spontaneous, and the authority of the Crown had to be invoked at every stage to enforce it; but it was, none the less, of the utmost importance in drawing closer the bonds between the three communities. Of a considerable number of documents relating to these works, all of which are illuminating in a variety of ways, three are of outstanding interest in the present connection:—

(1235) Rex concessit probis hominibus Bristolli ad villam suam claudendam quasdam consuetudines capiendas in eadem villa. Et cum assignata fuerit hominibus regis de Radeclive quendam portio muri dicte ville Bristolli facienda, mandatum est ballivis Bristolli quod tam de mercandisi ipsorum hominum de Radeclive propriis quam de mercandisi alienis intrantibus et exeuntibus ad duas portas Bristolli versus Radeclive, ubi eisdem hominibus de Radeclive assignata est sua portio muri claudenda et ubi predictas consuetudines ceperunt de permissione eorum, ut dicunt, in auxilium sue portionis claudende, ipsos homines de Radeclive predictas consuetudines capere permittant, sicut ab eis capiuntur alibi in eadem villa ad residuum predicti muri faciendum.²

¹ The town is said to have been burnt in 1200. *Annales de Theokesberia* (R.S.), ed. H. Luard, 56, 100.

² C.C.R., 1234-7, 126. A grant of murage was made in June, 1232, for two years "in auxilium ville Bristollie claudende et ad securitatem et tuitionem ejusdem ville simul et partium adjacentium."—C.P.R., 1225-32, 483.

This has the appearance of arising from a disagreement between the men of Redcliffe and the bailiffs of Bristol over the collection and application of the murage granted by the Crown. The argument of the Redcliffe men seems to have been that, since they had been assigned the construction of the wall to the south of their suburb, murage collected on merchandise entering or leaving Bristol by that route should be applied to the building of that wall; and that they themselves had the right to collect it. They were taking part with the Bristolians in a co-operative work, but their local particularism and independence were still very strong. This is further emphasized in a writ of 1240 :—

Mandatum est vicecomiti Sumers' quod distingat homines de Radeclive quod consimili auxilium faciant hominibus tenentibus de fratribus Milicie Templi ad murum quem communiter fieri faciunt in Radeclive faciendum penes ipsos homines de Templo quali ipsi fecerunt predictis hominibus de Radeclive ad partem ipsius muri penes ipsos claudendam.¹

This writ makes it clear that the walling of the transpontine area was carried out by the none too enthusiastic co-operation of the men of Redcliffe and Temple Fee. It suggests, too, that the Redcliffe portion of the wall was completed first, about 1240; but confirmatory evidence is needed to substantiate this.

The third document of importance is the well-known writ of 24th April, 1240, ordering the burgesses of Redcliffe to assist those of Bristol in digging the trench in St. Augustine's Marsh for the improvement of the harbour.² They are described as partakers in the same liberties as the burgesses of Bristol, and in lot and scot with them.³ The construction of the new harbour was followed by the building of a wall round the suburb which developed in the Marsh between the Avon and the new channel of the Frome.

This great series of works, whose magnitude and cost alike bear witness to the enterprise of the burgesses, was completed by the

¹ C.C.R., 1237-42, 203.

² Vol. i, pp. 18-9.

³ Consult Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i. 54, n. 1 and 68-72. Compare the charter of Edward II to London, requiring all who wish to enjoy the freedom of the city to be partakers in lot and scot, *Liber Albus*, ed., Riley, 128-9. Compare also the following mandate of Henry III to the bailiffs of Bristol in 1217: "Mandamus vobis quod distingas omnes illos qui esse noluerint in libertatibus et in gilda mercanda secundum consuetudinem ville nostre Bristoll' ad faciendum auxilium vobis ad aquietandum tallagium quod assisum est per preceptum nostrum in eadem villa, exceptis illis qui tenent de domo milicie Templi in eadem villa"—*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1204-24, 345b. *Vide infra*, pp. 64 ff.

erection of a new bridge of stone over the Avon. This too involved co-operative effort on a large scale, for, before the bridge could be built, the river had to be dammed and temporarily diverted into a new course. Surrounded by their walls, linked by their new bridge, and enjoying jointly the benefits of their new harbour, the burgesses of Bristol and Redcliffe were also, by the middle of the thirteenth century, well on the way to full administrative unity. The feudal particularism of the lords of Berkeley and the Templars, rather than bourgeois localism and exclusiveness, was now the chief obstacle to its full achievement.

The anomalous position of Redcliffe, and the manorial and jurisdictional claims of the lords of Berkeley caused a long and bitter feud with the burgesses. It came to a head in 1303 when Thomas of Berkeley and his son Maurice, to whom he had made over the manor of Bedminster together with Redcliffe, were in Scotland with the king. Maurice's officers seized and imprisoned a burgess named Richard Cornwall on a charge of murder; whereupon Thomas de la Grave, the mayor, caused the common bell to be rung, and the men of Bristol sallied over the bridge, liberated their fellow townsman, and, according to the complaint lodged by Maurice, made away with goods to the value of 500 marks. Maurice further complained that the burgesses prevented him from holding his court and his men from buying and selling.¹ The burgesses, in their counter-petition, alleged that Thomas of Berkeley and his son Maurice attached and distrained them, by reason of tenements held in Redcliffe, to appear in their courts in Redcliffe and elsewhere. Because they would not permit this, the burgesses said that the Berkeleys' men beat and assaulted them, so that they were not able to venture outside the town on their legitimate business. They complained of assaults at neighbouring fairs, especially at Dundry, where William Randolph, the mayor,² and Adam the cheesemonger suffered grievous injury, and of the wounding of one of their bailiffs, who subsequently died. They complained of the forcible abduction by the Berkeleys of self-confessed robbers who had been imprisoned in the town, and their acquittal by a corrupt jury at Somerton (co. Somerset); of distress made by Thomas of Berkeley upon certain ships lying in St. Katherine's Pill, which only the king's officers were entitled to

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1301-7, 347-8.

² Randolph was mayor in 1297 and subsequently in 1306.

levy, and of sundry other enormities.¹ The justices appointed to deal with the case, who included Nicholas Fermbaud, constable of Bristol castle, gave judgement against the Berkeleys. A heavy amercement laid upon them was commuted for service in the Scottish war; but the liberties of the manor and hundred of Bedminster were taken into the king's hand. Maurice petitioned for their recovery in 1312,² but they were still in the king's hands in 1327, when his successor Thomas of Berkeley, petitioned that they might be restored to him.³ The part played by the Berkeleys in the struggle of Edward II's reign, as well as in the suppression of the Bristol rebellion, and their transient good fortune in emerging from this turbulent period on the temporarily victorious side, doubtless led to the favourable reception of the petition. It is significant that the old dispute with the Bristolians concerning rights of jurisdiction in Redcliffe flared up again shortly after the fall of Mortimer and Queen Isabella. Thomas of Berkeley complained that, whereas, in certain places in the suburb of Bristol, he had the assize of bread and ale, pillory, tumbrel and other franchises,⁴ the mayor, bailiffs and commonalty of Bristol, at the ringing of their common bell, assaulted and wounded his bailiffs there, and destroyed the tumbrel and pillory. Further, they took John Hind, his bailiff, to the Guildhall by force, and compelled him to swear not to execute any judgement in the courts there in future.⁵ Thomas's complaint met with small success, for he was obliged to concede to the mayor and commonalty all his rights in Bristol and the suburb of Bristol, including view of frankpledge, the assizes of bread and ale, prison, gallows, pillory and tumbrel.⁶ One result of this contention was the revelation of a legal flaw in the town's claim to hold view of frankpledge. The burgesses claimed that they had held it time out of mind, but they had no warrant for it in any charter. In consideration of a fine of £40, this was remedied by the royal charter of October 1331,⁷ which

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1301-7, 352-3; 356. *R. Parl.*, i. 168a. It was at this time that the burgesses of Bristol petitioned that Temple Fee should be tallaged with them, a fact which further demonstrates their determination to incorporate the whole transpontine area in the borough.

² *Rotuli Parliamentorum Hactenus Inediti* (Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., li.) 58.

³ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁴ These were claimed "a tempore quo non extat memoria," *Plac. de Quo Warranto*, 256b.

⁵ *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, 571

⁶ A copy of this grant is entered in the Great Red Book. The date is 17th August, 3 Edward III. See *G.R.B.*, ed. Veale, ii. 111-2.

⁷ *Vol. i*, p. 78.

fully secured their position in respect of view of frankpledge and all their other liberties in the town and suburb. Further, this charter carefully repeated the interpolation of two important words in the *Inspeximus* of the charter of 1188, which first occurs in the charter of January, 1331.¹ The clause concerning external pleas now runs "quod nullus burgensis Bristollie placitet *vel placitetur* extra muros ville de villo placito preter placita de exterioribus tenementis que non pertinent ad hundredum ville."² Latimer wrongly stated that the grant of view of frankpledge was included in the charter of January, 1331, and was consequently at a loss to explain the charter of October of that year.³ The explanation is a very obvious one. The burgesses had won a resounding victory over the House of Berkeley, in August, making good their claims to jurisdiction in Redcliffe; and they lost no time in having it ratified by the crown. At the same time, they insured themselves against any attack upon their right to hold view of frankpledge, and against being impleaded outside the town. Their anxiety on this score is emphasized in the petition which they later presented for the erection of the town into a county, where "the said general words, namely, that no burgess of the said town and suburbs implead or be impleaded . . . before any judge outside the town," are elaborated in a manner which it was thought would guard against all future trouble.⁴ The resultant charter of 1373 marks the final achievement of the complete incorporation of the transpontine area in the borough of Bristol.⁵

THE FIRMA BURGI⁶

THE acquisition by certain boroughs of the privilege of farming the ordinary revenues which the crown drew from them is recognized as one of the most important developments in early borough

¹ Vol. i, p. 72.

² The interpolated words are in italics. See Miss Harding's notes in vol. i, pp. 73 and 78-9, which explain the interpolation, and correct Latimer's misstatements.

³ Latimer, *Calendar*, 68-70.

⁴ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 116.

⁵ Vol. i, pp. 118-141.

⁶ The farm of Bristol would repay much more detailed research than is possible in a brief survey of this kind. It should be closely related to variations in local conditions and royal needs. For the long period when it formed part of the Queen's dowry—Bristol itself being commonly referred to as the Queen's Chamber—it must be studied in relation to the Queen's household administration. See T. F. Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, vol. v, and *infra*, pp. 51-2.

history.¹ The period of its greatest importance is prior to the thirteenth century, when, after much vacillation between temporary and permanent grants of *firma burgi*, the increasing financial needs of the crown turned the scale in favour of the fee-ferm grant. The advantages to the king of allowing the burgesses to farm their revenues became increasingly apparent as the fear of the growth of communes in England subsided, for they were prepared to pay handsomely for the privilege. The advantages to the burgesses themselves were palpable and immediate, even though the rent was often an extortionate one, and laid a very grievous burden upon those who were held responsible for its payment. It freed them from the intrusion of the sheriff in their financial affairs, and strengthened their position in relation to him in other ways. In spite of Dr. Stephenson's arguments to the contrary, it seems clear that the acquisition of the *firma burgi* carried with it, as Ballard maintained, the right of the burgesses to elect their own reeves.² This marked a very important step in the progress of municipal government, and its effect was felt not only in financial affairs, but also in the borough court, where the reeve was an important official.

Even the intrusion of the sheriff was not more obnoxious to the burgesses than that of a *custos*³ or a private farmer, whose duty and personal interest alike took little account of their needs. It was the fate of Bristol for considerable periods in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to be in the custody of the constables of the castle, and the relations of the burgesses with these officers are illustrated by frequent entries in Chancery and other records, especially at times of exceptional tension and local disorder, such as the years from 1312 till 1316.⁴ The burgesses' detestation of the private farmer, and the causes of it, are set forth with admirable lucidity by the commonalty of Bristol in a petition to the King in Parliament in 1283:—⁵

"Since none can know so well as those whose work is concerned with merchandise, and who earn their living by it, how to regulate the affairs of merchants properly and honestly, the Commonalty of Bristol entreats the Lord King that, if he

¹ See Tait, *M.E.B.*, 139-93.

² Stephenson, *B.T.*, 166-70; Ballard, *B.B.C.*, i. lxxxvi; Tait, *M.E.B.*, 185 ff.

³ A borough was said to be in *custodia* when it was not at farm.

⁴ See E. J. Watson, *Pleas of the Crown taken at Bristol in 1221*, 24-41.

⁵ *Rotuli Parliamentorum Anglie Hactenus Inediti* (Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., li.) 18.

should wish to grant his town at farm to anyone, he should concede it to them, since they would be prepared to give as much for it as any outsider. For an outside farmer would not seek it except for his own personal gain, which would be to the serious loss of the Commonalty. And the Commonalty seeks it to farm, not for the sake of profit, but to safeguard, according to the law merchant, both themselves and others coming there."

This appeal, though made most appropriately at the Parliament of Acton Burnell, evoked no favourable response from the king, into whose bad graces the burgesses of Bristol had fallen in the days of Simon de Montfort, whom they had actively supported. Disappointed by the royal rejection of their petition, they were left to find what comfort they could in its terms: "Rex non committet villam ad firmam ipsis vel aliis."

In the matter of the *firma burgi*, as in other aspects of early borough history, the information relating to Bristol is slight, though not lacking in interest. For a century after Domesday, when the farm of Bristol and Barton amounted to £101 6s. 8d., and that of Bristol itself possibly to £84, we have but one piece of information. Bristol passed into the hands of Robert fitzHamon, who bestowed a tenth of his profits from the borough upon Tewkesbury Abbey. This remained a permanent charge upon the revenues of Bristol, and early in the thirteenth century it became stereotyped at £14 10s. annually. It is referred to in later documents concerning the farm of Bristol as owing to Tewkesbury Abbey "under the name of a tenth." This should have warned Latimer of the unsoundness of his assumption, based upon this Tewkesbury tithe, that the annual revenue of Bristol when Robert fitzHamon held it was £145.¹ In the early Pipe Rolls the amount of the payment varies with the fluctuation of the town's revenues, and is not invariably a tenth of them.

Bristol remained till 1183 part of the Honour of Gloucester, and its revenues are not accounted for in the Pipe Rolls till 1184. In that year Robert de Witefeld and Ellis de Clivelay accounted for the farm of the Honour of Gloucester for one half of the year, and Hugh Bardolf for the other half. It included the issues of the town of Bristol, which was *in custodia*, but the amount is not separately specified.² In the following year Hugh Bardolf accounted for the new farm of the Honour, and the issues of

¹ Latimer, *Calendar*, 17 ff.

² *Pipe Roll* 30 H.II, 109.

Bristol are recorded as £119 7s. 5d., including the profits of mills and fairs.¹ The same account gives an interesting glimpse of the local collection of revenue in the entry, "pro locanda domo apud Bristow, ubi redditus Regis recipiuntur, xs. Et in Liberatione Clerici qui colligit redditus Regis apud Bristou, lxs. et xd." In 1186 Bardolf, as *custos*, accounted for the royal revenues of Bristol to the amount of £134 4s. 9d., but his outgoings were heavy, and only £87 18s. 4d. was paid into the Treasury. Tewkesbury Abbey received £12 10s. not as *elemosina constituta*, but by royal writ. From the new farm of the Honour of Gloucester, also accounted for by Bardolf, the Burgesses of Bristol were paid 200 marks for the debts of John, the king's son, by writ of Ranulf Glanville, and 100 marks by royal writ for causes not stated.² In 1187 Bardolf, still as *custos*, accounted for £142 3s.,³ and in 1188 he farmed the town for £145.⁴ We derive from this information the impression that, between 1183 and 1188, Hugh Bardolf, who was one of the most prominent and experienced of the royal ministers, nursed the affairs of Bristol through a somewhat difficult period following the death of William, earl of Gloucester, and tightened up the collection of its revenues. It is perhaps significant that he then appears as farmer, and no longer as *custos*.

For the next five years the farm of Bristol ceased to be accounted for in the Pipe Rolls, since John, into whose hands the Honour of Gloucester had now passed, exercised quasi-palatine powers in his great western appanage, and rendered no accounts to the royal Exchequer. In 1194, when the issues of Bristol again appear in the Pipe Roll, we find an account for only a little over half the year. John fitzSimon accounted for the issues of Bristol till a fortnight after Easter on behalf of William Marshal, who was apparently *custos*; and thereafter the borough was let at farm to William de Warenne, whose representative accounted at the Exchequer for £72 for half the year.⁵ William de Warenne was not a successful farmer, for in 1195 he paid into the Treasury no more than £50 of the £145 which he owed,⁶ and in 1196, with a

¹ *Pipe Roll* 31 H.II, 154.

² *Pipe Roll* 32 H.II, 200-1.

³ *Pipe Roll* 33 H.II, 15.

⁴ *Pipe Roll* 34 H.II, 14.

⁵ *Pipe Roll* 6 R.I., 240.

⁶ *Pipe Roll* 7 R.I., 183. In 1199 his remaining debt of £4 10s. was applied, appropriately enough, to the cost of the erection of the toll-house at Bristol. *Pipe Roll* 1 John, 28. See also *Pipe Roll* 31 H.II, 154.

deficit of over £25 for the half year, he ceased to farm the borough in May. It was now handed over to Robert de Tresgoz as *custos*; and the total sum accounted for in the year was just short of £128.¹ Tresgoz continued in the office of *custos* till October, 1198, when William Marshal, who had already had some experience there, was given Bristol to farm,² and he continued to hold it for £145 annually till 1200. Thereafter till 1206, although William Marshal was still Sheriff of Gloucestershire, Bristol was farmed for this amount by a succession of private farmers, including Robert de Berkeley and John la Werre. The latter accounted, through Oliver de Berkeley, for £72 10s. for half the year 1200-1, and Robert de Berkeley, through the same agent, for the like amount for the other half of the year.³ The name la Werre is one which frequently occurs in documents relating to Bristol.⁴ Jordan le Warre is among the witnesses to Robert fitzHarding's charter to the men of his fee in the marsh, and his importance in Bristol is borne witness to in the Somerset Pipe Roll of 1177, in the entry "homines de Bristou debent . l . markas pro respectu juramenti per plegium Jordani la Guerre et Johannis episcopi."⁵ Half a century later, in 1230, another Jordan la Warre was appointed with Thomas de Berkeley and others to make the Assize of Arms in Gloucestershire,⁶ and a David la Warre became constable of Bristol Castle.⁷ John la Werre, who farmed Bristol in 1200-1 was clearly a person of some local importance, and in 1199 he was in possession of a messuage in Bristol.⁸

It is interesting to observe, thus early in John's reign, the first recorded appearance of local notables as farmers of Bristol. We are, however, provided with no clue as to why John, who gave such a wide extension to the policy of granting burgesses the *firma burghi*, and whose connection with Bristol was a personal and

¹ *Chancellor's Roll*, 8 R.I., 109.

² *Pipe Roll*, 9 R.I., 128; 10 R.I., 150. He became sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1199.

³ *Pipe Roll*, 3 John, 53-4. Barton was farmed separately by the constable of the Castle. See E. J. Watson, *Pleas of the Crown taken at Bristol, A.D. 1221*, 29.

⁴ See, for example, the *Great Red Book of Bristol* (ed. Veale), vol. i.

⁵ *Pipe Roll*, 23 H. II, 23.

⁶ *Royal Letters of Henry III* (R.S.), i. 374.

⁷ Madox, *Formulare Angl.*, 26, 57.

⁸ *Pipe Roll*, 1 John, 28.

intimate one, had not given the borough to its burgesses to farm. The sequence of *custodes* and farmers in the early pipe rolls, and the nature of their accounts, suggests that when the borough revenues were on a sound basis the practice was to farm them; but when, from whatever causes, they were in confusion and arrears, to appoint a *custos*, who was responsible for the actual revenue and not for a lump sum. It was only natural that speculative farmers should have been reluctant to enter upon an undertaking which was likely to leave them out of pocket; but it might be supposed that such conditions would have favoured the chances of the burgesses themselves to secure the right to farm their town. One hesitates to believe that the Bristolians were so satisfied with the extent of their chartered privileges, and with the methods of revenue collection employed by *custodes* and private farmers—least of all such farmers as Gerard d'Athée and Enguerrand de Cigogné (1210), constables of the castle—that they did not consider it worth their while themselves to bid for the farm.¹ They do not even seem to have sought from John a royal confirmation of the charter he granted them as count of Mortain in 1188, an elementary precaution, the omission of which is remarkable.²

Philip d'Aubigny, followed by John de Ferentin (constable) farmed Bristol in 1215, and the latter again in 1223,³ but a private farmer or *custos* was not again appointed while the town remained in the king's hands. In 1224, 1225 and 1226 the farm of Bristol was in the hands of the bailiffs, and in 1227 a long series of leases to the burgesses began. These dates are suggestive. In April, 1223, a papal Bull had declared Henry III of age to govern for himself,⁴ though with limitations upon his legal powers which prevented him from making grants in perpetuity. The following three years find the bailiffs in charge of the farm, probably on an annual basis. Evidence as to the election of bailiffs in Bristol prior to this time is lacking but probably they were acting for the

¹ It is most interesting, however, to find that they sometimes farmed the land of townsmen which had fallen into the king's hand, *Pipe Roll*, 1 *John*, 25.

² They made a fine with John for some purpose, which Latimer (*Calendar*, 17) simply assumes was for the creation of "the mayoralty," but it was still outstanding after his death in 1216, *C.P.R.*, 1216-25, 6. It should also be noted that Roger le Cordewaner, the first known mayor, Philip Long, one of the two early bailiffs whose name is known, and others, were guardians of John's treasure at Bristol, and responsible for the collection of an aid in 1216, *Vide infra*, p. 75.

³ *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, i. 523b, 530c.

⁴ *Royal Letters of Henry III*, i. 430.

burgesses in accounting for the farm from 1224 till 1227.¹ In the latter year Henry III came of full age, and the restrictions which had been placed upon his power were removed. This was followed by a wholesale, and for the crown a very profitable, confirmation of charters. The burgesses of Bristol wasted no time about securing their position, and on 1st May they obtained a confirmation of Henry II's charter of 1155.² The document is an exceptionally interesting one because it is in the form of an *Inspeximus*, a method of confirmation which, rare at first, soon became the established one. Meanwhile, in January, a month before the king was declared of full age, the burgesses of Bristol obtained a grant of the farm for eight years, with the proviso that Redcliffe should for the future answer in Somerset and not with Bristol.³ The most striking thing about this grant is that the amount of the farm is increased by £100 to £245 annually. This lease of the farm to the burgesses was renewed in 1232 for two years,⁴ in 1234 for a further ten years,⁵ and in 1242 for an additional year.⁶ In 1242 the burgesses paid into the treasury only £120 12s., the remaining £124 8s. being expended upon preparations for Henry's Gascon expedition.⁷ In 1252 the farm was raised to 400 marks (£266 13s. 4d.) in a new lease for one year,⁸ later extended to Michaelmas 1254.⁹

Bristol with its castle was given to the king's son Edward, on his marriage to Eleanor of Castile (with the proviso that it should never be separated from the English crown);¹⁰ but, fortunately, its history does not again pass into complete obscurity as a result. The Chancery rolls and other records contain numerous references to the town, and more especially to the castle; and royal confirmations of a number of Edward's acts there are preserved among them. The year 1257 saw what is, as far as we know, a new departure in the farming of the town. Edward granted it with all its

¹ See Tait, *M.E.B.*, 176, 188.

² *Vol. i*, p. 14.

³ *C.P.R.*, 1225-32, 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 480.

⁵ *C.P.R.*, 1232-47, 47.

⁶ *Vol. i*, p. 20.

⁷ *Pipe Roll*, 26 H. III, 256-7.

⁸ *C.P.R.*, 1247-58, 153.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁰ *C.P.R.*, 1247-58, 272, 285, 365. John FitzGeoffrey, justiciar of Ireland, was ordered to give him seisin of these and other possessions consigned to him.

issues to the burgesses to keep for four years from 20th July, for a sum of 1,600 marks.¹ This is, of course, the precise equivalent of the annual farm of 400 marks, which the burgesses had previously held. They were required to acquit the ancient alms, and Edward reserved for himself the issues of his new houses upon the cliff (*falesiam*) of the town, which the burgesses were required to pay directly to him. But the real interest of the lease lies in the arrangements for the payment of the farm. The burgesses undertook to pay 500 marks down; and then 500 marks at Michaelmas, 200 marks at Christmas and 200 marks at the quinzaine of Easter in the last of the four years; the remaining 200 marks to be paid at the following Michaelmas. The agreement bears the marks of shrewd bargaining on both sides. It had the advantage of providing Edward with a very substantial advance payment; while it gave the burgesses an opportunity of collecting the balance over a period more prolonged than usual, and of avoiding the accumulation of arrears which was so common under the ordinary Exchequer system, and so embarrassing to both farmer and Treasury.

This lease was made on the eve of the crisis which led to the Provisions of Oxford, so soon to be followed by the Barons' War. Many Bristolians took the side of Simon de Montfort, and their conduct, breaking as it did the long tradition of Bristol's loyalty to the House of Plantagenet, drew down Edward's malevolence upon it. The defection of Bristol was all the more serious because of its strategic importance. Edward's allies among the lords of the Welsh Marches were hard pressed by Montfort in 1263 and threatened by Llewelyn, prince of North Wales, while Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, also temporarily sided with the barons.² It was while Edward was preparing Bristol castle as a base for offensive operations that the burgesses clashed with his garrison, repudiated their allegiance to him, and obliged him to beat a hasty retreat. Representatives of Bristol probably attended the Parliament of 1265;³ and, when hostilities were renewed, the burgesses gave their full support to Simon de Montfort. It was Bristol transport ships that made the forlorn attempt to evacuate

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1247-58, 570.

² It should be noted that the earl of Gloucester put forward a claim to the town and castle of Bristol as part of the Earldom of Gloucester. See *C.P.R.*, 1266-72; *Abbrev. Placitorum*, 191.

³ See Miss McKisack's *Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs During the Middle Ages*, 1 ff. Representatives of Bristol were summoned to the Parliament of 1268.

his troops from Newport, and the shipping losses which were sustained in that operation must have been a serious matter for the town. Much more serious for the Bristolians were the consequences of Montfort's defeat and death at Evesham, which left them to make their peace with Edward as best they could; though, in this, they were not entirely without assistance, and a reconciliation was eventually brought about by the good offices of certain prelates and magnates.¹ None the less it is clear that Edward was not easily appeased, for as late as 1270 the burgesses of Bristol are recorded as making a fine with him for his good will.² It is not surprising that the relations of the burgesses with Edward, when he became king, were often strained; and disputes with the constable of the castle not infrequent. Had the burgesses possessed the farm of the town, the situation might have been considerably eased, for customary renders in kind to the castle were a constant cause of irritation and dispute, which must have been aggravated by the fact that the issues of the town were collected by successive constables. Trespasses on the part of the burgesses, to which these disputes led, resulted in heavy amercements³ and delay in the confirmation of charters.⁴ The King's attitude in the very vital matter of the farm is well illustrated in the petition of 1283 and its endorsement, already quoted.

Edward assigned the town and castle of Bristol to queen Eleanor in augmentation of her dowry in 1275.⁵ It is not, however, true, as Hunt seems to imply, that she leased it to the Mayor and Commonalty.⁶ Edward treated the households of his consorts as subordinate to his own; and certainly, in the case of Bristol, the queen's officials do not seem to have enjoyed the local independence later possessed by those of queen Philippa.⁷ The town, castle and Barton remained in the keeping of successive constables,

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1258-66, 439. For accounts of events in Bristol during the years 1263-5 see Hunt, *Bristol*, 31-3, and Seyer, *M.B.*, ii. 60 ff.

² *C.P.R.*, 1266-72, 451.

³ *C.P.R.*, 1272-81, 99; *C.C.R.*, 1279-88, 496.

⁴ *Rot. Parl. Hactenus Inediti* (Camden Soc., 3rd. Ser., vol. li), 18; *Abbrev. Placitorum*, i, 110. A fine of 300 marks was paid for the charter of 28th March, 1300 (See *Vol. i*, pp. 44-7).

⁵ *C.Ch.R.*, 1257-1300, 193. "Vacat quia restituta fuit litera post mortem regine una cum alia litera similiter que est fere de eodem tenore prout liquere potest plenius per inspectionem eiusdem."

⁶ Hunt, *Bristol*, 56.

⁷ See Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, v. 252.

who were responsible for their issues.¹ The farm seems to have become fixed at £210, at which it remained till 1330. In addition, the farmer or *custos* was responsible for the payment to Tewkesbury Abbey of £14 10s. by way of a tenth, £3 to the Priory of St. James as rent for the town mill, 7½d. per day to the Forester of Kingswood, 2d. per day to the janitor of the castle, and 3½d. per day to the castle watchmen, and for the provision of a coat valued at 28s. 6d. for the water bailiff.

The reign of Edward II brought new troubles and a prolonged state of disorder and rebellion in Bristol from 1312 till 1316, when a bitter dispute between an oligarchical clique and the generality of the burgesses was aggravated by, and inextricably involved in, the struggle between the Court party and the Ordainers. Bartholomew de Badelesmere, as constable of the castle, held the farm of the town, castle and Barton during this time on the terms stated above, except for a few weeks in 1312.² In August of that eventful year the burgesses received the custody of the town and Barton, but these were restored to Badelesmere in September.³ Until 1316 he was unable to enforce his rights against the determined resistance of the townsmen, and although he was then restored to authority and compensated for his losses, a new turn in the national struggle brought about his displacement at Bristol by the younger Hugh Despenser. The latter held the farm of Bristol in 1320,⁴ and although it was in the hands of Matthew de Clyvedon and his brother John in 1321,⁵ he was again in possession of it in the following year.⁶ In 1325 he received the custody of the town, castle and Barton at the annual rent of £210, and with the obligation to pay the customary outgoings, for the term of his life, which was destined to be brief and inglorious.⁷ The elder Despenser was in command at Bristol in 1326 when it was besieged by the queen. The townsmen seem to have forced him to surrender, and, at their demand, expressed in no uncertain terms, he was summarily executed. The financial regime of Hugh Despenser in Bristol, if

¹ Bartholomew le Jeune, Robert de Muscegros, Peter de la Mare, Ralph de Mercato. See *C.F.R.*, 1272-1307.

² *C.C.R.*, 1307-13, 320; *C.F.R.*, 1272-1307, 147.

³ *C.P.R.*, 1307-13, 485, 491; *Vol. i*, p. 49.

⁴ *C.P.R.*, 1317-21, 514; *C.F.R.*, 1319-27, 33.

⁵ *C.F.R.*, 1319-27, 56.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁷ *C.P.R.*, 1324-7, 127; *C.F.R.*, 1319-27, 348, 421.

it bore hardly upon the burgesses, as in all probability it did, brought no corresponding profit to the Crown.¹ The maintenance of the castle seems to have swallowed an unconscionable amount of the farm, even for such troublous and uncertain times;² and the Despensers, father and son, during this period left unpaid the sum of £300 annually due from them as farmers of Bristol and the manor of Lechlade.

Queen Margaret's death in 1318 made possible the assignment of queen Isabella's full dowry, and, as part of it, she received £200 of the issues of the town, castle and Barton of Bristol.³ The profits of Bristol were included in the new dowry grants to queen Isabella in 1327, and she devised it to the mayor, bailiffs and commonalty for a term of years. This term had not been completed in 1330, when the town, castle and Barton, valued at £210 annually, exclusive of alms and customary payments, passed into the king's hands before being transferred to queen Philippa.⁴ The mayor, bailiffs and burgesses thereupon surrendered the lease to the king, receiving a new one till Michaelmas 1331, with provision for its renewal for five years thereafter, at a farm of £240, apart from customary payments and alms which brought the total to more than £278. The castle was to be kept at the king's cost.⁵

In September, 1331, Aumary la Zouche, constable of the castle, was superseded, during pleasure, by John de Heigham, queen Philippa's Steward, who was required to reside there in person. He was also given the custody of the town and Barton, which the mayor and bailiffs were required to deliver to him, and made responsible for their issues.⁶ Heigham seems to have been allowed a free hand

¹ The queen's lands were confiscated in 1324.

² *Cal. Chanc. Warrants*, 1244-1326, 552.

³ *C.P.R.*, 1317-21, 116. In October, 1318, this rent was granted to the king's infant children, but the arrangement was revoked in May, 1320—Ibid., 222.

⁴ *C.P.R.*, 1330-34, 55. The Mayoral oath, as recorded in the Little Red Book, circa, 1344, contained the following clause: "qe ieo . . . serryay foyal et loyal a nostre Seignur le Rey Edward et a ses heysrs. Et loyalment a mon poayr salverey et garderey sa ville de Bristuit a luy et a ses heysrs *et a ma dame la Reyne Phelippe a qy la diste ville a terme de la vye ma diste dame ad graunte.*" The words in italics were deleted after Philippa's death in 1369.

⁵ *C.F.R.*, 1327-37, 207-8. A copy of queen Philippa's patent, dated 1st December, 4 Ed. III (1330), is contained in *P.R.O. Chanc. Misc.* 9/58, m.8.

⁶ *P.R.O. Chanc. Misc.*, 9/58, m.8. In 1335 Heigham was given the custody of the castle for the duration of the queen's life, receiving £20 a year for its custody from the farmers or keepers of the town, *C.P.R.*, 1334-8, 123.

in Bristol, subject only to the approval of his acts by the queen's council. In April, 1332, acting on the queen's behalf, he made an indenture with the mayor and commonalty, letting them the town only at farm for £140 a year. They were to pay him £20 a year for his wages (as constable of the castle), 2d. a day for the janitor of the castle, 3d. a day and ½d. a night for the two watchmen, 7½d. a day for the Forester of Kingswood, 26s. 8d. a year for the robe of the *custos maritimi*, besides the £3 owing to the Priory of St. James as mill rent, and the £14 10s. given to Tewkesbury Abbey by way of a tenth. It is expressly stated that the farm of £140 shall be paid in full to the queen without any deductions.¹ The arrangement was that after the completion of the ten years' lease the mayor and commonalty should have the farm of the town for the duration of the queen's life, subject to the approval of her council.² This entry is vacated "quia alibi." On 18th May in the same year queen Philippa confirmed an indenture between John de Heigham and the mayor and commonalty of Bristol, by which the latter obtained the farm of the town for ten years, as from Easter last past, at £150.³

In 1330 Bristol and Barton had been farmed together by the mayor and commonalty for £240; but in April, 1332, John de Heigham, subject to the queen's approval, let Barton at farm to Roger atte Mulle of Mangotsfield, twenty-three others named, "and all the other customary tenants of Barton by Bristol," for the astonishingly large sum of £160. The term of years is unfortunately illegible in the manuscript, but the entry is vacated "quia aliter alibi." The feudal rights and regalties of the queen were reserved.⁴ Bristol and Barton together were now producing the unprecedented annual revenue of £310, apart from the wages and customary payments due from the former.

¹ P.R.O. Chanc. Misc., 9/58, m.1. The name of the Mayor is given as Hugh de Langebrugge. This is notable, because Ricart gives him as mayor in 1329, and Roger Turtle as mayor in 1332.

² "Et quod predicti maior et communitas habeant et teneant villam predictam cum omnibus libertates et aliis pertinenciis suis predictis post terminum predictorum decem annorum ad terminum vite eiusdem domine Regine . . . si eidem domine Regine in consilio placuerit."

³ P.R.O. Chanc. Misc., 9/58, m.8. "Rendant a nous chescun an. cent et cynqaunte livres." Latimer, *Calendar*, 19, states categorically, though as usual without citing his source, that "in 1336, a new patent was issued by the king, granting the burgesses a lease of the profits of the town at a fee-farm rent of £142 10s." He also states that queen Philippa subsequently renewed the lease at intervals. The authority for these statements has not so far been traced by me.

⁴ P.R.O. Chanc. Misc., 9/58, m. 1.

Upon Philippa's death Bristol and Barton reverted to the crown. The last years of Edward III show a marked decline in the farm of Bristol. In 1371 Walter de Derby, a prominent burgess who was several times mayor and member of Parliament, and Henry Derneford held it for £100.¹ Walter de Derby continued to hold it till 1376,² when it passed into the hands of John Woderove of Bristol,³ still on the same terms. Latimer assumed that these men were acting on behalf of the burgesses, which may have been the case ; but it remains to be explained why such an arrangement was necessary. Neither Seyer, nor Latimer, who followed him, was able to suggest any explanation of the large reduction in the amount of the farm, other than the far-fetched one of the prolonged effects of the Black Death. A much more likely explanation, though it will remain to be substantiated, may be sought in the combined effects of the Hundred Years' War and the increasing embarrassments of the crown. These may have given burgesses exceptionally favourable opportunities of bargaining for the farm, and of seeking to have their contributions to the war effort offset against it. Further, the steady development of the burgesses' control of their internal affairs, and above all the creation of the county of Bristol, must have enormously strengthened their hands. In a word, the time was rapidly approaching when, if the crown were not prepared to make reasonable terms with the mayor and commonalty in the matter of the lease of the farm, it would find it very difficult to let it profitably to anyone else. This may perhaps account for the series of short leases at a low rental during the latter years of Edward III and the reign of Richard II ; and the longer the rate remained low, the more likely it was to become stereotyped, to the advantage of the burgesses. It would be very wrong at this stage to regard the farm, as Seyer and Latimer did by implication, as in any way a reliable index of the prosperity of the town. The burgesses were, of course, always ready to complain of hard times, and use them as a pretext for claiming financial concessions ; but the fluctuations of Bristol's commercial fortunes are to be sought in customs accounts and like sources.⁴

¹ *C.F.R.*, 1369-77, 137-8.

² *Ibid.*, 254, 287.

³ *Ibid.*, 365.

⁴ In Bristol, as elsewhere, the reign of Edward III presents historians with many difficulties in this field of research.

In 1382 the issues of Bristol, still valued at £100 were granted by Richard II to queen Anne.¹ In 1395 the mayor and commonalty received a lease of the farm of the town, exclusive of the castle, for twelve years at £100, with the obligation to discharge the customary payments and alms.² This lease still had five years to run when, in 1403, Henry IV gave the profits of Bristol to queen Joanna. In November, 1408, she granted to John Fisher, mayor, and the commonalty and their successors a lease of the farm of the town, exclusive of the castle, for the term of her life.³ The amount of the farm was £182 7s. 10d., but the queen relieved them of the customary payments and alms which now amounted to £58 11s. 6d. Probably the mayor and commonalty were glad to pay a little extra for a lease which they hoped would be a long one; and their hopes were justified, for Joanna survived till 1437.

The advantages of a long lease of the farm are obvious, for, while certain items of the revenue, such as landgable and the rents of stalls and tenements, were fairly constant, others, such as the profits of justice and tenurial incidents, were capable of wide variation. A lease of the farm for a single year or a short term was a gamble, while a long lease gave some measure of insurance against losses. When Joanna died, and the farm of Bristol reverted to the crown, the mayor and bailiffs rendered at the Exchequer an account of the receipts of the town.⁴ The rents of stalls and tenements, landgable, customs dues, the king's mills and the profits of the court of Tolsey produced a total of £86 15s. 4½d. It might appear from this that the mayor and commonalty as farmers suffered a very heavy loss. If, however, the sources of revenue conceded to them by the queen, and set out in full detail in her charter, be compared with the items of these accounts, it will be seen that numerous incidents capable of producing a considerable revenue find no place in the latter. The wide range of profits of justice arising in courts other than the Tolsey are not mentioned in the accounts, nor are the manorial and feudal incidents and the profits of ecclesiastical patronage which Joanna had granted.⁵

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1381-5, 126.

² *C.F.R.*, 1391-9, 137.

³ *Infra*, pp. 102 ff. See also *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 155.

⁴ See Bush, *Bristol Town Dues*, 9 ff.

⁵ The items of the expenses of the sheriff in rendering his account at the Exchequer, amounting to £7 18s. 11d., are recorded in *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 12-3. In *Bristol Town Dues* Bush gives those for 1518, when it was alleged that they exceeded the revenue.

It is clear, even as late as the fifteenth century, that bargaining for the farm still provided the mayor and commonalty with an opportunity of extending their control of local affairs and offices. In 1439, for example, Henry VI granted to Sir William Beauchamp, one of his carvers, twenty marks a year out of the petty customs of Bristol for life, or until he should be given an office equal in value to that of steward of the court of Tolsey and of the market of Bristol. Beauchamp had surrendered this office for the advantage of the king, who hoped that the mayor and commonalty might be persuaded to pay a farm of as much as £160, if it included this stewardship. Prior to the grant of the office to Beauchamp they would scarcely offer £120.¹ This is exceedingly interesting, for it shows us the king attempting to stimulate the bidding of the mayor and commonalty for the farm by appointing an outsider to an important local office, whose control was vital to them.² Beauchamp is a mere man of straw in the whole transaction. The scheme seems to have worked precisely as the king had hoped, for in 1439 the mayor and commonalty received a twenty years' lease of the farm for £102 15s. 6d., apart from alms and customary payments amounting to £57 4s. 6d., making the total up to precisely the desired sum.³ A rather different case is that of Richard Craford, the king's yeoman, who in 1471 surrendered the office of water bailiff to the mayor and commonalty for the duration of his life, in return for an annual payment of £6 13s. 4d. The appointment to this office, however, remained in the king's hand, and it was only in 1499 that the mayor and commonalty secured the reversion of it in perpetuity.⁴

In 1446 the mayor and commonalty received a lease of the farm for a further sixty years at the former rate.⁵ This lease they surrendered to Edward IV who, in 1462, made them a perpetual fee-farm grant.⁶ In 1467 the farm of Bristol was bestowed upon queen Elizabeth, in accordance with the now ancient tradition,⁶ which was also followed by the first two Tudors. Richard III confirmed Edward IV's grant in 1485.⁷ He had placed two

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1436-41, 286.

² The Clerk of the Court of Tolsey and the four Sergeants were the servants of the farmers of the town. See *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, ii, 65.

³ *C.F.R.*, 1437-45, 85; *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i, 226.

⁴ *Infra*, pp. 168 and 186.

⁵ *C.F.R.*, 1445-52, 16.

⁶ *R. Parl.*, v. 626a. See Madox, *Firma Burgi*, 227 ff.

⁷ *Infra*, 153 ff.

charges on the farm of Bristol, namely £52 of the annual pension of £200 which he paid to James, earl of Douglas, and £10 for the salary of Thomas Lynom, the king's solicitor, an arrangement which was probably little to the liking of the burgesses. Now, professing a tender solicitude for the town, and considering that it had fallen "into such ruin, poverty and diminution, as well by reason of the loss of divers ships as of merchandise recently destroyed and lost at sea, to the grave hurt and impoverishment of many merchants,"¹ so that the payment of the existing farm was too grievous a burden, he remitted in perpetuity the sum of £60. This remission cost the mayor and commonalty £85, which proved an ill investment, for Henry VII subsequently raised the farm to 240 marks (£160).²

Some further light is thrown upon local arrangements for paying the farm, recorded in the Little Red Book. The most interesting and suggestive is a memorandum of 20th July, 1471,³ that Richard Kayton has received from John Shipard, senior,⁴ Henry Vaughan,⁵ John Poke,⁶ John Godard,⁷ and the widow of John Nancothan⁸ £110 19s. 6d. to pay for the farm of the town of Bristol and for the wages of the castle and the Forest, etc. in the Exchequer of the lord king at Westminster.

THE QUITTANCES AND LIBERTIES OF THE BOROUGH OF BRISTOL

FREEDOM from toll throughout the land was, next to free rent-paying tenure, one of the most valuable of the positive privileges which burgesses could normally secure in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It was one which was not conferred exclusively upon boroughs, but, like certain others, was enjoyed by tenants

¹ Ricart records on 15th October, 1484, "the grettist wynde at Bristowe and in the cuntrey there abouts that euer was seen, and grete hurt doon in merchaunts sellers in wode and salt; shippes lost at Kyngrode . . . Saltmerssh drowned, corne, catell, and houses borne away with the see, and moche péople drowned, to the noumbre of cc, and mo." *Kalendar*, 46.

² G.W.B., f. 4.

³ L.R.B., ed. Bickley, ii. 236.

⁴ Mayor in 1456, 1464, 1470; M.P. in 1452, 1459, 1460.

⁵ Mayor in 1484 and 1486.

⁶ Bailiff in 1470.

⁷ Bailiff in 1469.

⁸ Bailiff in 1469.

upon ancient demesne of the crown,¹ and by favoured monasteries and other grantees. The earliest recorded grant of this privilege to Bristol is in Henry II's charter of 1155,² though the burgesses may already have possessed it, at least in England, at an earlier date. If they had already possessed freedom from toll, passage, pontage and all custom, their enjoyment of it would certainly have been restricted and prejudiced during the troubled reign of Stephen, so that a confirmation was urgently necessary in 1155: if they did not already possess the privilege, it was natural that they should seek an early grant of it from a king so favourably disposed to them as Henry II. The exercise of this exemption, as between boroughs, depended upon priority of grant;³ and it was in consequence of this that the charters of various towns were entered in the records of Bristol.⁴ The charter of 1188 provided that if anyone took toll of the men of Bristol, and failed to restore it when called upon to do so, the Reeve (*Prepositus*) of Bristol should make the necessary distraint there.⁵

Henry II's charter confirmed the liberties, quittances and free customs of Bristol in general terms, but it is only in the charter granted by John, as count of Mortain, in 1188, that we are enabled to see their nature and extent.⁶ This charter was a natural sequel to John's acquisition of the lordship of Bristol, and it seems to amount, in the main, to no more than a specification and confirmation of existing liberties. Upon analysis, these liberties are seen to fall into three main groups, judicial, mercantile and tenurial.

First, the charter recites a body of concessions relating to jurisdictional matters, and the obligations and rights of the burgesses at law. Most of these are of a negative kind, and are very closely similar to those enjoyed by London by virtue of Henry I's charter of 1132,⁷ and by other privileged towns.

¹ Pollock and Maitland, *H.E.L.*, i. 166-89. It is to be observed that Bristol is described in Domesday under the heading of *Terra Regis*, and was an "Ancient Borough."

² *Vol. i*, pp. 2-3. Edward I's charter of 1300 adds freedom from murage, stallage and pavage. See *Vol. i*, p. 44—where the printed text wrongly reads *panagio* for *pauagio*.

³ Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i. 44, n. 6.

⁴ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, ii. 211-34.

⁵ *Vol. i*, 10.

⁶ *Vol. i*, pp. 8-13.

⁷ F. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, i. 525.

The burgesses shall not plead outside the walls, save in pleas concerning outside tenements, which do not pertain to the Hundred of the town.¹ This by no means implied exemption from royal justice, though the town was favoured by a special visit of the royal justices when an eyre was held, and was privileged to appear before them by twelve of its own men, so that presentment of offences committed within the walls was not made by outsiders.² In criminal matters the jurisdiction of the Hundred itself probably extended to bloodshed and hamsokne,³ and frankpledge was presumably organized under its supervision. In a case of man-slaying in 1221 the jurors returned "quod nullum est ibi francum plegium nec warda que debeat respondere de fugitivis; et ideo inde loquendum."⁴ Bristol, however, claimed view of frankpledge from time immemorial, though it was not till 1331 that a formal royal ratification of the claim was secured.⁵ The writ of right was pleaded in the Hundred till removed to the king's court by a *pone*, as also writs *ex querela* and other writs, whether returned by the sheriff, or original; but the writ of *mort d'ancestor* was not pleaded there.⁶

Offences against the Forest Law fell outside the scope of the exemption. Several successive Pipe Rolls of Henry II's reign record, under the heading *De Misericordia Regis de Foresta sua*, that "homines de Bristou debent .l. markas pro respectu juramenti";⁷ and in 1183 they owed 100 marks that they might not plead before the justices of the Forest till the king should come to England.⁸ It was not till 1252, when Henry III confirmed John's

¹ Note the exemplification of proceedings arising from a plea of *novel disseisin* relating to a messuage in the Suburb of Bristol, wrongly brought to the County Court at Gloucester in 1354, *Vol. i*, pp. 116-7. See also *Vol. i*, pp. 73 and 78-9.

² E. J. Watson, *Pleas of the Crown taken at Bristol in 1221*, 21; Pollock and Maitland, *H.E.L.*, i. 628-9.

³ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 41.

⁴ E. J. Watson, *op. cit.*, 137.

⁵ *Vol. i*, p. 78.

⁶ Bateson, *Borough Customs*, i. 251, ii. cxxii; *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 33. A Dublin customal says that judges ought not to complain if burgesses use writs of right in the manner of Mort d'ancestor—Bateson, *op. cit.*, ii. cxxiii. See also *G.R.B.*, ed. Veale, i., under "Forms of Actions." At the Somerset Eyre in 1242-3 the bailiffs of Bristol produced a charter of Henry II testifying that the writ of Mort d'ancestor did not run in Bristol—*Somerset Pleas* (Somerset Record Soc.), 525.

⁷ *Pipe Roll*, 22 H. II, 162; 23 H. II, 23; 24 H. II, 42.

⁸ *Pipe Roll*, 29 H. II, 96.

charter, that they were quit of being charged by any royal justice or bailiff for venison found within the walls.¹ This is in no sense equivalent to the exemption of the burgesses from indictment for offences against the Forest Law, but the previous disafforestation of neighbouring lands in 1228 must have done much to keep Bristolians outside its oppressive ambit.²

In another sphere, however, the exemption from external pleas was made effective, as is shown by the custumals of the town. The earliest of these lays down that "no burgess shall swear before the ordinaries for sins committed, or for any other cause, no matter how arising, except in causes testamentary and matrimonial." If a burgess were impleaded by the ordinaries for refusing to swear before them, the mayor and commonalty were required to defend him as far as they could at the town's cost, from the revenues of the Gild Merchant.³ There is in the Little Red Book a memorandum dated 1317, and headed "That no burgess of Bristol be cited to appear outside the Deanery of Bristol." One Richard Bryan recognized, before the Mayor and other *probi homines* in the Guildhall, that he had infringed the liberty of the town by causing a burgess named Simon Pipparesclyf to appear at Gloucester before the ordinary of the Bishop of Worcester, "to the infraction of the status and liberty of the town, since it is prohibited by the charter of liberty of the town." This liberty had been confirmed by Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his letters, authenticated by his seal, were then in the coffer of the Commonalty. "It was judged by the Commonalty, and by the consent of the said Richard, that if he should hereafter be convicted of the trespass aforesaid, he be put out of the liberty for ever unless he should have another grace."⁴

The earliest custumal states that no burgess should answer a burgess, or a stranger, concerning any plea, except a plea of debt, otherwise than in the Hundred, unless he shall have challenged his Hundred.⁵ It was agreed, according to the fourteenth-century custumal, "that every burgess before he shall sue his fellow burgess on any plea shall send to him twice by co-burgesses that he satisfy them therein before he sue." Anyone convicted of acting otherwise

¹ Vol. i, p. 28.

² See Latimer, *Calendar*, 23-4.

³ Bateson, op. cit., i. 91. The text quoted by Miss Bateson is from the *Constituciones Ville Bristol* in Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, MS. No. 405, which she dated about 1241, *Vide infra*, p. 76.

⁴ L.R.B., ed. Bickley, i. 92-3.

⁵ Bateson, op. cit., i. 91.

was mulcted of forty pence by the Commonalty.¹ No assize or inquest or attain of foreigners or outsiders could be made on a burgess, and if any were made it should be deemed of none effect.²

The burgesses of Bristol were quit by John's charter of *murdrum* within the town boundaries, and of ordeal by battle unless appealed for the slaying of an outsider. A number of Pipe Rolls refer to payments to "approvers" in Bristol.³ An approver was a convicted criminal who obtained pardon upon condition of appealing his associates, and this was one of the commonest causes of judicial combat. The appearance of approvers in Bristol does not however mean that the privilege of the burgesses was being infringed. Law-abiding oath-worthy people could put themselves upon a jury, and the burgesses probably had no objection to trial by battle as a means of eliminating evil-doers who were not burgesses.

The Hundred was to be held not more than once a week, and no one was to be challenged for *miskennen*: that is, for a mistake in pleading.⁴ The archaic principle of the irrevocability of the spoken word had outlived its usefulness, and there was no longer the same need for the most extreme kind of formalism. That a man's *miskennen* should enable, and indeed oblige, the judges or any member of the court to take action against him therefor (*occasionare*), providing the court with a heavy amercement, or that his opponent should take him at his unhappily mis-spoken word, and insist on a judgement thereupon, had long since been recognized as undesirable. Litigious the burgess class might be but they had little inclination for a complicated and tricky game of forfeits. For them speedy and efficient justice was a vital necessity.

No one might be adjudged to be in mercy as to his money except according to the law of the Hundred, namely by forfeiture of forty shillings,⁵ a protection against excessive pecuniary penalties which was of the greatest importance to a trading community. The burgesses were justly to have their lands, tenements, pledges and debts throughout the land; and concerning lands and tene-

¹ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 36.

² Bateson, *op. cit.*, ii. 20. See Pollock and Maitland, *H.E.L.*, ii. 540.

³ *Pipe Roll*, 32 *H. II.*, 200-1; *Pipe Roll*, 1 *John*, 28. In the former case the approvers apparently proceeded to the ordeal, for not only is their payment of 11s. 4d. accounted for, but also "in armatura ij probatorum de Bristow, vs. et. iiijd. per breve regis."

⁴ The translation given in *Vol. i*, p. 11 is somewhat misleading. It should read: "In no plea can anyone be challenged for *miskennen*."

⁵ Compare Henry I's charter to London: "Et homo Londoniarum non judicetur in misericordia pecunie nisi ad suam were, scilicet ad. c. solidos, dico de placito quod ad pecuniam pertineat."

ments within the town, and debts contracted and pledges made there, justice was to be done them according to the custom of the town. No burgess anywhere in the land should be attached or distrained unless he were actually a debtor or a pledge. Again the customals enable us to see more clearly what certain of these privileges involved, and how they developed. No stranger might produce suit to prove his count against a burgess concerning any matter, unless one of the suit be of the liberty of the town. No stranger might prove his tally¹ or debt against a burgess unless he had one who was of the liberty of the town in his defence. Chattels might not be taken from the hands of burgesses upon a stranger's oath, unless he had one of the liberty in his defence.² The stranger, in other words, must produce a witness or compurgator whose status in the borough was like that of his opponent. It is not made clear that the reverse was also the case in Bristol, as it was in London and certain other boroughs, namely that a burgess impleading a foreigner would have to produce a witness of the same position or the same country as the defendant.³ In the fourteenth-century customal "it is ordained and decreed that if any one shall be in debt to another, whether he be a private individual or a stranger, if he be willing to find security immediately for the recovery of the debt within eight days or three tides, according as a day shall be given him, let him have his day. And if after the day is passed he has not wherewith to pay, or be unwilling when he is able, then let such debts be levied from their pledges and sureties as principal debtors. And if he be unwilling or unable to find sureties immediately let such recovered debts be levied without delay on the goods and chattels of the debtor."⁴ The Chancellor's Roll of 1196 contains the following entry:—⁵

Idem Willelmus de Warenn' reddit compotum de debitis que debebantur a mercatoribus de Bristou extraneis mercatoribus scilicet de .c.et .vj.s.et .viij.d. qui recepti fuerunt a Roberto mercatore et Waltero speciaro. Et de .c.et .vj.s.et .vj.d. a Willelmo de Abodeston. Et de .liij.s.et .iiij.d. a Nicholao Miparte et Oliuario de Cestr'. Et de .xxiiij.s. a Willelmo cordewaner. Et de .xxxij.s. a predicto Willelmo et Rogero fratri suo. Summa .xviij.li. et .x.s. et .viij.d. In th. lib. in vij tallis.

It would be interesting to know the reason for this intervention.

¹ See Bateson, op. cit., i. 202.

² Bateson, op. cit., 166. See also *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 40, cap. 31.

³ Bateson, op. cit., 165.

⁴ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 35.

⁵ *Chancellor's Roll*, 8 *R.I.*, 109.

The Burgesses of Bristol enjoyed, by John's charter, the important concession that no one might be billeted within the walls by assize, or by livery of the Marshal, against their will. It was the more to be prized because some important and otherwise highly privileged towns, situated where there was much coming and going of royal officials and important persons, had to accept billetees by livery of the Marshal.¹

The second group of privileges included in John's charter is concerned with mercantile affairs, the preservation of the burgesses' rights, and restrictions upon stranger merchants. The latter were prohibited from buying hides, corn or wool within the town except from burgesses. They were forbidden to retail cloths except in the fairs,² where quality, quantity and price could be under supervision, and where individuals could not forestall the market. They were forbidden to keep taverns except in ships. These regulations give the clearest possible indication of the nature of Bristol's trade in the latter part of the twelfth century.

No stranger was allowed to remain in the town more than forty days to sell his wares, a regulation which, as will be shown, is at least as old as the reign of Henry II. It is instructive, but not unexpected, to find that the bailiffs compelled strangers who wished to remain longer than forty days to pay for the privilege. This led in 1236 to a test case *coram rege*, brought by certain alien merchants, which is worth quoting in full:—³

Somerset. The bailiffs of Bristol were ordered not to exact from merchants of Amiens and Flanders and elsewhere customs other than were wont to be exacted in the times of king Henry, the grandfather of the lord king, Richard, uncle of the lord king,

¹ The translation of "nemo capiat Hospicium" in *Vol. i*, p. 9, is too literal to make clear the real nature of this concession, viz., freedom from billeting.

² The regulation of the sale of cloth later became an important matter when the Bristol cloth industry developed, and when the customs system had come into being. See *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, ii. 71. The bye-laws of 1344 include an interesting clause, requiring vendors of old cloths to carry them in their arms, and not to place them on stalls and benches, in the highways, under a penalty of forty pence, *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 35. See also the charter of 14th December, 1461, *infra*, pp. 136-7 and 139-41.

³ *Curia Regis Roll* (K.B. 26), No. 116B., m. 4d. *Placita coram rege*: Mich. (20), Henry III (1236). I am indebted to Mr. Charles Johnson for a transcript of the entry translated here. See also Watson, *Pleas of the Crown taken at Bristol in 1221*, pl. 33: "De novis consuetudinibus levatis dicunt quod waydarii (*sellers of woad*) solebant vendere waydam per quarterium cumulatam et nunc vendunt per quarterium rasum et hoc fuit levatum tempore Petri de Cancellis ad maximum nocumentum ville sue. Et ideo preceptum est ballivis quod decetero vendant sicut solebant." Also pl. 36, concerning fines for selling wool, hides, iron and woad outside the fair. The fine seems to have been a pound of pepper or more.

and John, father of the lord king, up to the time when the lord king gave them the aforesaid town to farm. And hereupon John de Alneto, and other merchants of Amiens and Nèslé (*Neel*),¹ complains and complain that, whereas in the times of the aforesaid kings they were wont to sell their merchandise in the town of Bristol within forty days without hindrance; and if they remained longer thereafter, they might similarly sell their merchandise; these bailiffs compel them to leave the town after forty days, so that they cannot sell their merchandise as they were accustomed to do; and that they take from them customs, and compel them either to leave the town, or to share with them in (*communicare cum eis in*) customs and other things.

And the Mayor and six *probi homines* of the town come and defend the unjust captions and unjust exactions and inconveniences, and claim that they take those customs and that they are just customs; and that they were wont to take them in the times of the aforesaid kings; and they produce the charter of king Henry, the king's grandfather, which testifies that he conceded to his burgesses of Bristol that they should be quit of toll, passage and all custom throughout the whole of his kingdom of England, Normandy and Wales, wherever they should go, they and their goods. They produce the charter of king John, when he was count of Mortain, in which it is contained that no stranger shall remain in Bristol with his goods, to sell his goods, beyond forty days. And they say that they were always in possession (*in seisin*) of the aforesaid customs, both in the time of the king's grandfather, and of king Richard and king John, and they pray that the truth be sought by jury (*per patriam*) or by other means as the court of the lord king shall consider.

And the said John and the other merchants say that they (the burgesses) were not in possession (of such customs), and thereupon cite Hugh de Vivonia, who was formerly constable of Bristol, and in whose hand the town then was, (to witness) that in his time they gave no customs, and that they (the burgesses) were not in possession of them, and they pray that the truth be sought. And thereupon the sheriff was ordered to cause to come before the lord king, on the morrow of Martinmas, twelve men, as well knights as others, etc., who should be outsiders (*forinseci*), and in no way connected with the said burgesses and merchants, and by whom, etc., to determine upon oath whether the aforesaid burgesses had such seisin that the aforesaid merchants of Amiens and Nèslé might not remain in the town of Bristol beyond forty days for the selling of their goods, or to sell them except by fine made with the burgesses, and by giving customs, and by their (the burgesses') good will, in the times of Henry, the king's grandfather, king Richard and

¹ At this particular time the merchants of Amiens, Nèslé and Corbie often traded together in groups. Their trade was mainly in wine and woad. They had very extensive trading privileges in England, and especially in London. I am indebted to my wife for this information.

king John, as the aforesaid burgesses say ; or whether or not the aforesaid merchants were in such seisin that they could stay in the town more than forty days, and sell their merchandise, as the aforesaid merchants say.

The jurors come by the consent of the parties [the names follow] who say upon their oath that in the time of king John and in the time of the present king they always saw that neither the aforesaid merchants nor others were able to stay in the town of Bristol for more than forty days, to sell their merchandise, without the assent and will of the aforesaid burgesses, except by making a fine with them. But they cannot speak with certainty of the times of the king's grandfather king Henry, and king Richard, though they believe and understand that it was then as is aforesaid, rather than otherwise. And asked who were bailiffs in the time of king John, they say that Roger le Cordewaner was mayor, and William his brother was bailiff¹ and Philip Long was bailiff, and others, who took customs of the said merchants if they wished to stay longer than forty days. And therefore it was decided before the lord king that the aforesaid merchants, as also other strangers, should not remain in that town more than forty days, to sell their merchandise, except by the assent and will of the said burgesses, and unless they were able to make a fine with them. And the said burgesses, at the request of the lord king, restored to the said merchants their woad which they had taken on the aforesaid occasion, to the value of £36, and remitted to them the losses they suffered on that account.

John's charter conceded to the burgesses all their reasonable gilds, as best they had them in the time of Robert and William his son, earls of Gloucester. No record exists of the grant of a Gild Merchant to Bristol in such specific terms as many other boroughs received it ; a characteristic which the town shares with London, Norwich and Colchester.

In 1372 Edward III claimed that his collector, William de Somerwell, should account to him for fines of bakers, fines for admission to the freedom of the town, and other such sums levied in Bristol. The case put forward in defence of their rights by the Mayor and Bailiffs, through Walter Knolles, their attorney, is well known.² As touching the profits of fines made for admission to the liberty of the town of Bristol, they said that " Bristol is an ancient borough, and a mayor, bailiffs and commonalty have existed in the same borough time out of mind : in which borough

¹ This affords another proof of the mayoralty of Roger le Cordwaner in John's reign ; and the fact that his brother was bailiff sheds an interesting light on local affairs. See also *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 137.

² *G.R.B.*, ff. 34-35 ; Gross, *Gild Merchant*, ii. 353-5.

the said mayor, bailiffs and commonalty, and their antecessors and predecessors had a free Gild Merchant in the same town and its suburbs, and all things pertaining to a Gild Merchant, namely, to buy and sell in the same town free and quit of customs and toll, and to have other divers liberties which pertain to a Gild Merchant. By virtue of the same Gild and liberty, the said mayor and bailiffs, and their predecessors from all time, were wont to take, for their own use, a certain payment from all who were admitted into the liberty and society of the said Gild, for having the liberty of the said Gild, according as could be reasonably arranged between them." They cited the charter of John, count of Mortain, and also the charter of 24th July, 40 Henry III (1256),¹ which confirmed all the liberties and free customs obtained up to that time, to be held as fully and freely as the citizens of London, or any others, enjoyed them. They then proceeded to argue that the mayor and citizens of London had and enjoyed, time out of mind, the liberty of this kind of Gild, and payments for admission to the liberty. To clinch the argument, they cited Edward III's charter of 16th October, 1331,² which confirmed the previous charters, and added a non-user of liberties clause.

The Mayor and Bailiffs of Bristol were wrong in their contention that London had a Gild Merchant,³ though not in the statement that admission to the freedom of London could then be obtained by purchase (redemption). Originally the qualification for citizenship in boroughs generally was the possession of land and houses, but by the early thirteenth century two means of obtaining the freedom of the town, other than by patrimony, had become operative, namely, apprenticeship and redemption. Some Bristol ordinances,⁴ made during the Mayoralty of John Stoke (1366-67), a few years before the dispute with Edward III, make clear the position there; and though they do not refer explicitly to a Gild Merchant, its existence and importance are clearly implied. Admission to the franchise by patrimony was fully protected, but merchants "of good report and honest conversation" might be admitted on payment of a minimum fee of £10. A new clause was to be introduced in the mayor's oath binding him not

¹ Vol. i, p. 36.

² Vol. i, p. 78.

³ See Gross, *op. cit.*, 20, 116, 171; Tait, *M.E.B.*, 232 and n. 8. The freedom of boroughs and membership of Merchant Gilds were popularly identified at this time.

⁴ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, ii. 47-9.

to reduce this payment in any circumstances. Non-burgesses who wished to trade or exercise their crafts in the town, but lacked the will or the means to pay the £10 redemption, might be "received as portmen, and make a fine with the Commonalty according to the discretion of the mayor and stewards for the time being."¹ Thus far the ordinance has been erased. The remainder of it deals with admission to the franchise by apprenticeship, fixes the date for the rendering of their accounts by retiring stewards and bailiffs, and provides that no newly-elected steward be charged with the arrears of his predecessors.

There had been, according to Ricart, stewards in Bristol in place of reeves or bailiffs from 1267 till 1310;² but the stewards referred to in these ordinances are clearly officials of the Gild Merchant. They are associated with the mayor in the admission of portmen, but the mayor and commonalty alone are mentioned in connection with the admission of burgesses. This may be an additional justification for Dr. Veale's hesitation to assume that admission to the freedom of the town and to that of the Gild Merchant were necessarily the same thing; and provides some ground for his suggestion that the portmen may originally have been members of the Gild Merchant only. None the less, we cannot easily escape from the close association of Gild Merchant and commonalty in the pleading of the mayor and bailiffs in 1372, and the importance which they obviously attached to it. True, by that time, the Gild Merchant was no longer so important in the borough's constitutional development as it had once been; but one thing is very clear in the pleading, namely, that it was by virtue of the possession of a Gild Merchant that the rights in question were claimed. A royal mandate of 1217, which has already been quoted,³ adds point to this. It refers to "those who do not wish to be in the liberties and in the Gild Merchant according to the custom of our town of Bristol."

The antiquity of this association of Gild Merchant and Commonalty is borne witness to in the custumal dating from about 1241. The obligation of the mayor and Commonalty to provide, from the revenues of the Gild Merchant, for the defence of burgesses improperly impleaded by the ordinaries has already been referred to. Further, "the burgesses seek also the restoration to them of

¹ See *G.R.B.*, ed. Veale, ii. 24 ff, 277.

² Ricart, *Kalendar*, 30-3.

³ *Supra*, p. 38, n 3.

their gilds, with all things which ought and used to pertain to the said gilds. . . . So that the mayor and his counsellors who reform the *communitas* appoint from amongst themselves the two stewards who collect the gild dues (*ghildam coligant*) and keep them in a chest, to which they may have recourse as often as any business arises touching the *communitas*, rendering account thereof to the mayor and *communitas*; and from the funds of the said gild they shall maintain their liberties and the liberties of merchants entering the said gild, if it happen that they are unjustly imposed upon or arrested anywhere in the land. They shall maintain also the eight bridges, the paving, the five conduits, the quay-front (*Kayum* [sic] *ante naues*) and their public servants and many other things relating to the affairs of the *communitas*.¹ It seems impossible to interpret *communitas* in the context in the narrow sense of the personnel of the Gild Merchant. Indeed, in such Bristol evidence as exists, the very close relation between Gild Merchant and borough community is very obvious. This was clearly the case in many other boroughs, and Glanvill's identification of them has never been satisfactorily explained away.²

The idea that the Gild Merchant was no more than a private trading society without public functions was refuted by Gross, as was also the contention that the borough constitution was simply an enlargement of the Gild Merchant. Dialectically speaking, there should be nothing easier or more natural than to arrive at a synthesis of these views; but historically nothing could be more dangerous. The relation between borough and Gild Merchant in fact varied enormously from one borough to another, and even in individual boroughs with the lapse of time. In the twelfth century, as Tait has shown, the importance of the Gild Merchant was much greater than Gross realized. The maintenance of the judicial and other liberties which boroughs had then acquired certainly called for common action, and made the borough court a cell vitally important in municipal growth. But there the potentialities of development were limited, for a variety of reasons. The privileges enjoyed by burgesses, indispensable in themselves, were largely of a negative or passive kind. The court was presided over by reeves who were nominated, royal officials. Their responsibility for the

¹ Corpus Christi Coll., MS. No. 405, ff. 236-7; *G.R.B.*, ed Veale, i, 7, n.1. See also Watson, *Pleas of the Crown taken at Bristol in 1221*, pl. 32, concerning the quays.

² "Item si quis natus . . . manserit, ita quod in eorum communam scilicet *gildam* tanquam civis receptus fuerit . . ."—*De Legibus Anglie*, lib. V., c.5. See Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i. 102-3; Tait, *M.E.B.*, 222 ff.

maintenance of the royal provostry in the borough imposed upon them (even when the *firma burgi* was acquired, and they were elected by the burgesses) duties which were sometimes incompatible with the interests of the borough community. The burgesses formed a community in the general, rather than in the particular and full legal sense of the word. They had rights, and even possessions in common, but outside the borough court they had no adequate means of action as a body, and no common seal as a sign of corporate identity and capacity. Under Henry II any attempt on their part to form a sworn commune of the continental kind was promptly suppressed, as happened in the case of Bristol's neighbour, Gloucester, in 1170.¹ Except for the payment of the royal revenue the burgess community, as such, probably could not tax itself. This was a privilege which Bristol secured only in 1282, and that as a temporary measure.²

It is true that the Gild Merchant was, in origin, essentially a trading association; but, as an officially licensed institution, it possessed the corporate character which the borough community in its early stages of development to a large degree lacked. Within the Gild Merchant there was infinitely wider scope for free and positive action than in the borough court. It elected its own officers, and the fees which it exacted for membership and the like gave it an independent, if not a large, revenue. Naturally, in many cases, the personnel of the burgess community and the Gild, if not absolutely identical, did not differ widely, and very much the same men were likely to be prominent in both. Beyond a doubt this independent organization greatly strengthened the hands of the burgesses in the borough court and elsewhere; and in it they began to perform functions, and through it to exercise an influence upon borough affairs, which they could not easily have achieved through the borough court presided over by royal officials. This view of the part played by the Gild Merchant involves no denial of the vital importance of the borough court and its officers in the evolution of municipal constitutions. When boroughs acquired the *firma burgi* and elected mayors and bailiffs, and when restrictions upon the freedom of action of the borough community began to be loosened, the constitutional importance of the Gild Merchant tended correspondingly to diminish. In a few towns, such as Southampton and Leicester, its separate organization was strong enough to retain a hold upon the borough

¹ *Pipe Roll*, 16 H. II, 79.

² See Latimer, *Calendar*, 36-8.

administration, but in most cases its progressive subordination was ensured as the borough community developed a genuinely corporate identity. The medieval world always found it difficult to make nice distinctions between dual capacities, and indeed scarcely troubled to consider such problems in a practical way till circumstances forced them upon it in an acute form. It was quite natural that, in a brief process of time, the line of demarcation between the spheres of the early borough community and the Gild Merchant should have become blurred and vague. Local conditions and evolving local custom determined that certain functions should be performed by the borough community in the borough court, and certain others by very much the same people in the Gild. Later, when the corporate capacity of the borough community was well established, and its control over the internal affairs of the town in a large measure secure, these functions would long continue to be performed in the time-honoured place and fashion, with little thought of why this was so, or what its implications were. Only such an event as the dispute of the Bristol authorities with the king in 1372 was likely to bring the matter under consideration at all.

Our knowledge of Bristol's early development is slight, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to discern the degree of independence which its borough community had achieved before the second decade of the thirteenth century. It is clear, both from the writ of 1217 and from the early custumal which have been quoted, that the Gild Merchant played a part of outstanding importance in the town's evolution, and was closely, if not completely identified with the borough community; but it is also clear that before the middle of the thirteenth century the town's elected head, the mayor, and his councillors, exercised effective control over it in the interests of the community.

The third of the main groups of liberties contained in the charter of 1188 is concerned with burgage tenure, release from the more oppressive kinds of seigneurial control over the persons and tenements of the burgesses, and exactions such as *Tyna Castri*.¹ All these have been admirably treated by Dr. Veale, to whose study of burgage tenure in medieval Bristol reference should be made.² The grant to the burgesses of the right to have all lands and vacant places within the metes of the town, to be built on at their

¹ Henry III's charter of 1252, which is of great importance in the history of *Tyna Castri*, will be found in *Vol. i*, pp. 16-7.

² *G.R.B.*, ed. Veale, i. Introduction.

will,¹ is one of the earliest of such grants. Maitland asserted, and the known facts seem to bear out his assertion, that "as a rule the king's grant of the town [*i.e.* at fee farm] was not conceived to confer upon the community a mastery over the waste; but that this was separately petitioned for and separately granted."² It is very interesting that Bristol possessed this privilege long before we have any record of the acquisition of the farm by the burgesses; but its main historical importance lies in the fact that it provided a precedent for the charters of the Irish boroughs which derived their liberties from Bristol. The English kings were not lavish donors of lands, but Bristol was exceptionally favoured in some respects by the Angevin royal house which, if careful to prevent the too rapid growth of her municipal independence, was generous in its other concessions.

There can be little doubt that John was a gracious lord to his burgesses of Bristol, and Bristolians have always rightly regarded his charter as the corner-stone of their liberties. It is convenient for analytical purposes to distinguish between liberties and franchises; to separate the privileges designed essentially to enlarge and protect the status and rights of the burgesses from those which amplified their powers of self-government. The distinction, however, is in some measure a false one; the line of demarcation is difficult to draw, and is bound to be arbitrary. The liberties set out in impressive array in John's charter belong, broadly speaking, to the former category, and their comprehensiveness may be realized from the fact that the subsequent royal charters of the medieval period, apart from confirming and occasionally amplifying them, do not add very greatly to their number. The additions of this kind may be briefly summarized.

Henry III's charter of 1256 protected the burgesses from loss of their goods and chattels found in the hands of their servants who incurred forfeiture; and provided that the goods of burgesses deceased, whether testate or intestate, should not be confiscated, but should be had by the heirs when their claim was established.³

Edward III's charter of January 1331 provided for the proper custody of the goods of orphans in order to prevent speculation, but this took the form of the tightening up and improvement of the ancient practice of the town.⁴

¹ *Vol. i*, p. 10.

² Maitland, *Township and Borough*, 189.

³ *Vol. i*, p. 36.

⁴ *Vol. i*, p. 72. See *G.R.B.*, ed. Veale, i. 250, where the matter is fully treated.

The next notable exemption from an oppressive custom, most injurious to the burgesses, was made by Richard II in 1396. His charter of confirmation of liberties, issued in April of that year,¹ contains an additional clause forbidding the steward, marshal and clerk of the market of the royal household to exercise their offices and jurisdiction in Bristol, or to implead outside the town any burgess or person in the liberty for matters arising therein. This afforded relief from oppressive purveyances, and, more important still, both eliminated an objectionable non-municipal jurisdiction and protected from infringement one of the oldest and most important of the burgesses' privileges, namely, freedom from being impleaded outside the town in matters arising therein.

A jurisdiction even more objectionable to a maritime trading community was excluded from Bristol in 1446, when Henry VI freed the town, suburbs and county of Bristol, and all places within the precinct and liberty, from the authority and jurisdiction of the Admiral and his deputies and officials.² The king undertook that when maritime cases arose in Bristol, they should be tried by a commission of which either the mayor or the recorder should be a member. This charter was surrendered to Edward IV who, in October 1461, issued a new one in almost identical terms.³

The office and jurisdiction of High Admiral were both of recent development. The earliest reference to an admiral in England occurs in 1295, but it was not till nearly half a century later that the judicial powers of the High Admiral, exercised by delegation from the Council, began to develop, and ultimately to include civil actions as well as criminal cases arising from piracy, spoil of wreck and the like.⁴ The intrusion of this jurisdiction was bitterly resented in Bristol and elsewhere for many reasons. There were early complaints that people were put to answer charges against them other than by presentment of jury, according to the common law,⁵ and there were very strong objections to the extension of the Admiral's jurisdiction to cases that were not properly maritime

¹ *Infra*, pp. 98-100.

² *Infra*, pp. 122-7. This grant was made in consideration of shipping services which had been rendered to the crown by Bristol merchants, and of a gift of £200 made to the king by the Mayor and Commonalty.

³ *Infra*, pp. 132-6.

⁴ See R. G. Marsden, *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty* (Selden Soc., vol. 6), i. Introduction, and J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council*, 273-5. *L.R.B.* contains copies of the statutes of Richard II and Henry IV limiting the power of Admirals.

⁵ Marsden, *op. cit.*, *xlvi* : *R. Parl.*, ii, 308.

affairs at all. Further, the Admirals generally left their judicial work to be performed by their deputies, a practice which tended to prevent their courts from achieving much prestige, and probably aggravated their oppressiveness, venality and dilatoriness. The jurisdiction of the Admiral, at first strongly upheld, aroused such opposition that Acts of Parliament sought to confine it to matters strictly connected with the sea, and to provide means of appeal from it. As a result, neither proceedings before the Admiral and his deputies, nor their judgements, were secure, and suitors had little liking for so unsatisfactory a court.¹ The jurisdiction of the Admiral conflicted with that of courts which, from very early times, had sat in seaport towns from tide to tide to administer maritime law to seamen and merchants.² In Bristol its claims conflicted with those of the borough courts, and infringed the freedom of the burgesses from external pleas. In earlier times care had been taken that this should not occur in maritime cases. In 1323, for example, when complaint was made to the king that a Bristolman had spoiled a ship of Placencia, the admiral was ordered to hold an inquisition to discover whether this was the case, and if so, to seize the pirated ship and merchandise and restore them to the owners. When the inquisition had been held, and the spoil duly proved, the sheriff of Gloucestershire was ordered, with the assistance of the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol, to seize the pirates and their ship when found, and to cause justice to be done to the complainants in the court of the mayor and bailiffs at Bristol. The case was eventually tried there before a jury "according to the law merchant," and judgement given for the complainants.³ The appointment, under the terms of the charters of 1446 and 1461, of commissions of which the mayor or the recorder should be a member, to try maritime cases when they arose, was in keeping with Bristol's status as a county borough, and involved the application at a higher level of arrangements such as were already in operation. In 1387 the mayor and sheriff of Bristol and five others had been appointed to make inquisition concerning, though not to try, a case involving evasion of customs within the county boundary in the Severn estuary.⁴ Jurisdiction in maritime

¹ It was not till the reign of Henry VIII that a strong and effective court of maritime jurisdiction was established.

² *L.R.B.* contains a copy of the "Roules de Oleroun des Jugements et des Estatutz de la Meyr." See also Bateson, *Borough Customs*, ii. 193.

³ Marsden, *op. cit.*, xxiv.

⁴ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 129-32; *G.W.B.*, f. 533b.

cases could very conveniently be entrusted to such a commission, appointed by letters patent, thereby maintaining the principle that the jurisdiction was a delegated one, and at the same time removing all reasonable ground for complaint on the part of the burgesses.

The bounds of Bristol's Admiralty jurisdiction were determined at a court held at Portishead on 21st June, 1462, by Thomas Daunt, Steward of the earl of Warwick, Admiral of England. The towns included were Portishead, Portbury, Weston, Walton, Clevedon, Woodspring, Kingston Seymour, Worle, Kewstoke, Wick St. Lawrence, Weston-super-Mare, Uphill, Bleadon, Highbridge, Brean, Lympsham, Berrow, Burnham, Huntspill, and Pawlett.¹ This gave Bristol secure maritime jurisdiction over the whole neighbouring seaboard adjoining the county boundaries, which stretched out into the Severn estuary westwards from the mouth of the Avon and Denny Island to the Steep Holm and the Flat Holm.²

These concessions protected and enlarged some of the most cherished privileges of the borough, but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the most dangerous threats to the burgesses' liberties came not from without, but from the growth of oligarchy within the town itself.

SOME MAIN PROBLEMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRISTOL'S MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

THE franchises of Bristol and the development of her municipal jurisdiction can be clearly followed in the charters, and in the Public Records and the archives of the town, but the precise nature of her municipal government is far from clear prior to 1373. The century that intervenes between the Domesday description of the borough with its *burgenses* and royal reeve, and the charter of 1188 which show us a highly privileged community, still with a reeve as its only recorded officer, is in this respect virtually a blank. There is enough evidence to show that it was a period of steady development and increasing prosperity, but it is not till the second decade of the thirteenth century that a few details are forthcoming from record sources. It is unfortunate that fuller evidence is not available for the twelfth century, and particularly for the period of John's lordship of Bristol before he came to the throne, for there is reason to believe that he, to an even greater degree than his predecessors, knew how to maintain

¹ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 246-7.

² *Vol. i*, pp. 154-5.

cordial relations with his burgesses; and to ensure their constant loyalty. This stood him in good stead in the darkest days of his reign; and it was at Bristol that the guardians and supporters of his young son Henry III found a secure headquarters at the beginning of the Minority.

There is incontrovertible evidence of the existence of a mayor of Bristol before the end of John's reign, and that the office was held by Roger le Cordewaner.¹ Five mandates addressed to the mayor of Bristol in August and one in September, 1216, are recorded in the Close Rolls, one of which mentions Roger by name.² He was clearly a devoted and trusted adherent of the king, upon whom John depended for the good order of his town of Bristol, and the management of his affairs there, as is shown by letters patent issued on 17th May, 1215, in the following terms:—³

Rex probis hominibus suis Bristoll' salutem. Mittimus ad vos dilectum et fidelem nostrum Rogerum le Cordewaner mandantes quatinus ei de agendis nostris et negociis et statu ville vestre sitis intendentes tenentes vos firmiter ad fidem et servicium nostrum ut probi homines sicut semper fecistis ut vos grates scire debeamus *etc.*

This writ was issued, though John could hardly have known it at the time, on the very day when the baronial army entered London and made it their headquarters. It was one of the most critical moments in his reign, and it was essential for him to secure the loyalty of Bristol. Clearly the burgess entrusted with this vital task was of no ordinary calibre, and he must have possessed John's fullest confidence.⁴

The terms of this mandate of intendment are interesting and tantalizing. It is addressed to the *probi homines* of Bristol, and speaks of *ville vestre* where we might have expected *ville nostre*. Without putting any narrow interpretation upon *probi homines*, one cannot help wondering whether there is here a suggestion of communal self-assertion in Bristol. John was seeking support everywhere, and the writ was issued just a week after his formal recognition of the London mayoralty. Roger le Cordewaner is not, however, referred to as mayor, and the writ seems to be in the form of an ordinary intendment for a royal officer. There is no

¹ *Supra*, p. 64. Latimer, *Calendar*, 15.

² *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i. 281b, 283, 285, 286b.

³ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i., pt. i. 137.

⁴ He was in the King's favour as early as 1200, *Rotuli Chartarum*, i., pt. i. 61.

mention, either now or later, of the election of assistants to the mayor, as in the case of Northampton three months earlier.¹ Lack of further clues, or perhaps failure to discern them, makes the state of affairs in Bristol at this date obscure; but we are left with a strong impression that the origin of the mayoralty, and possibly of a council, is to be sought hereabouts.

Roger le Cordewaner was responsible for John's valuable stores of wine in Bristol and, with others, for the custody of the royal treasure there. A writ of the same date as that which has been quoted instructed Roger le Cordewaner, Nicholas son of Nicholas, Philip Long and Peter le Werre, guardians of the king's treasure at Bristol, to take therefrom, under view and witness of Peter de Chanceaux, constable of the castle, and other royal officers, fifty or sixty marks or more for work on the castle.² Again, on 28th August, 1216, the mayor was instructed to pay Geoffrey de Crowcombe and Walter de Verdun the 100 marks which are in arrears of the aid of 500 marks which Bristol had given the king.³

In the case quoted from the *Curia Regis* Roll of 1236⁴ the jury, when asked who were bailiffs in John's reign, said, "Roger le Cordewaner fuit major, et Willelmus frater suus fuit ballivus, et Philippus Long fuit ballivus, et alii qui ceperunt consuetudines." Was Roger le Cordewaner the first mayor of Bristol, and the only one who held office in John's reign?⁵ Were the other bailiffs referred to the predecessors or the successors of Philip Long and William, and were they elected or appointed? Answers to these questions, if they could be given, would help to solve a number of problems. The absence of any charter authorizing the appointment of a mayor in Bristol, though it worried Seyer and Latimer, need cause neither surprise nor dismay. A mayor was often set up without formal royal permission, as a result of communal self-assertion; and royal attempts to control the office took the form of insistence on the due presentation of mayors elect to the Exchequer or to a representative of the crown, to be sworn in.⁶

¹ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i. 188a. See Tait, *M.E.B.*, 272 ff.

² *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i., pt. i. 137.

³ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i., pt. i. 195a.

⁴ *Supra*, pp. 62-4.

⁵ J. F. Nicholls, 'The Ancient Charter Privileges of the Bristol Freemen' in *B.G. Trans.*, iii, mentions a copy of a Bristol deed of 1200, the original of which is lost, attested by Robert, son of Nicholas, as mayor.

⁶ See Edward I's charter of 1300, *Vol. i*, pp. 44-6.

The mayoralty of Bristol was tacitly accepted, but the attempt to obtain formal authorization for it, following upon that accorded to her daughter town of Dublin in 1229, met with no success.¹

The *Constituciones Ville Bristoll'* provide us with further valuable information, but at the same time raise a number of difficulties. The document takes the form of a petition for confirmation, and Miss Bateson believed that the original draft was probably made before the death of Pope Gregory IX in 1241, on the ground that there is a reference to a bull of Innocent III "qui antecessit Honorio et Gregorio."² This is very slender evidence of date, but it is perhaps worth pointing out that Gregory IX was enthroned on 19th March, 1227, and that Bristol obtained a confirmation of Henry II's charter of 1155 on 1st May in the same year. It is conceivable but unlikely that this draft petition and statement of customs was a prelude to the confirmation. A crucial passage in the *Constituciones* reads as follows:—³

"Petunt eciam burgenses sibi restitui gildas suas cum omnibus que ad easdem gildas pertinere solent et debent . . . Ita quod maior et consiliarii sui qui communitatem rectificant preficiant ex seipsis senescallos duos qui gildam coligant . . ."

One thing is clear, namely, that drastic municipal reform was contemplated, and the implication seems to be that the burgesses had lost their liberties and gilds. That this does not quite fit in with anything we know of Bristol's history prior to 1241, whereas it would seem to be much more in keeping with the situation in the town immediately after the insurrection of 1312-16, may be due simply to the lack of evidence for the former, and the abundance of evidence for the latter period. The confirmation of Miss Bateson's dating of the *Constituciones*, or the establishment of an alternative date, would render a great service to Bristol history.

The number of the mayor's *consiliarii* is, unfortunately, not given, but the election by the *communitas* of a council of twelve or twenty-four from among "the more discreet and better of the town" might well have occurred in the first half of the thirteenth century. Such councils, with local variations, were not uncommonly connected with the establishment of a mayoralty.⁴ It is

¹ C.C.R., 1234-7, 363.

² Barrett (Preface, vii) drew attention to the MS., the date of which he thought was about 1314.

³ See G.R.B., ed. Veale, ii. 24.

⁴ See Tait, M.E.B., ch. x.

most unlikely that the council in question would have consisted of the heads of wards. Watson asserted that the *barones* of Bristol were the aldermen of the wards,¹ but no such assertion can safely be made on the basis of a stray reference, which may have been due to Chancery laxness. In the few known cases of towns where the term *barones* was commonly used, namely, in London and the Cinque Ports, it has been shown that, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, it was applied to the whole body of citizens. Later, in London, the title was restricted to the aldermen,² much in the same way that the term *probi homines*, originally used by Chancery as the equivalent of *burgenses*, came to be identified with the governing body. The term *probi homines* was certainly interpreted in the latter sense in Bristol at the beginning of the fourteenth century when, in 1312, the town refused to obey a royal mandate addressed to the mayor, bailiffs and *probi homines*, on the ground that the commonalty, which had been included in previous writs, was not mentioned.³ It is not necessarily to be supposed, as Tait points out, that the form of address employed was a result of the Chancery's taking sides in the local strife.⁴

The great insurrection of 1312-16, with which this mandate is connected, is a very important event ; but to regard it as the most important event in Bristol's medieval history, because there is almost an over-abundance of record evidence relating to it, is to lose all sense of proportion. Indeed, if one event of peculiarly outstanding importance were to be singled out, the creation of the County of Bristol in 1373 would probably be chosen by most historians ; but happily we are under no obligation to discriminate in this way. The insurrection is a symptom of the political, social and economic upheaval of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries ; and if its true significance is to be appreciated, it is essential that it should be studied not merely as an episode in the history of Bristol, but as part of the history of England. Such a study would render a double service to local and to national history. The events of the insurrection are well known, and the Chancery Rolls are full of them. They have been described by

¹ E. J. Watson, *op. cit.*, 47, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i. 270b.

² Tait, *M.E.B.*, 256-62.

³ *Vol. i*, p. 48.

⁴ See Tait, *M.E.B.*, 244. It was hardly for the Chancery to indulge in partizanship, but the actions of the government which controlled it are another matter.

Seyer¹ and by Latimer,² but by far the best and most impeccably documented account is that given by E. A. Fuller,³ who appreciated its real significance in the social and municipal history of Bristol, and did much to elucidate the cleavage between the parties in the town.

The study must be that of an epoch, beginning at least as far back as the critical days of Henry III's reign when his son Edward became lord of Bristol, and extending to the creation of the County of Bristol in 1373, or beyond it. One phenomenon thrusts itself upon our attention at the outset, and suggests an approach to the problems involved. Here is a borough whose history until the time of the Barons' Wars was one of unbroken loyalty to the Angevin royal house, under whose favour it had grown great and acquired many liberties and a large measure of control in its own internal affairs. With apparent suddenness this harmonious relation of town and crown is marred by the rebellion of the burgesses, or the dominant party amongst them, against their lord, and their adherence to the cause of Simon de Montfort. Why? The reason must be sought in a complex of causes, and that which is most apparent, the growingly acrimonious relations of the burgesses with the castle and its constables, is symptomatic of others more profound. The grievances involved here were of old standing, and it was natural that they should come to a head in a period of national crisis. From the point of view of municipal development, it was Bristol's misfortune to be a vitally important strategic and military centre, and the claims and interests of town and castle were bound to conflict.

The situation is, however, much more complex than this. The conflict of municipal and seigneurial claims, and particularly the long-drawn and rancorous dispute with the lords of Berkeley, plays its part, and must be examined in relation to the struggle as a whole. It is even more important to examine, as far as material permits, the social structure of Bristol itself, and to compare it with that of other towns; to investigate its economic basis,⁴ and to trace the effect of these not only upon the growth of oligarchy within the town, but upon the political aspirations and affiliations of the burgesses. The policy of Edward I, first as lord of Bristol,

¹ Seyer, *M.B.*, ii. 89 ff.

² Latimer, *Calendar*, 42 ff.

³ 'The Tallage of 6 Edward II and the Bristol Rebellion,' in *B.G.Trans.*, xix. 191 ff.

⁴ See e.g. Fuller, loc. cit.

and then as king, calls for special investigation. It must be remembered that in 1266 he was given protection over alien merchants in England, and he played some part in systematizing the customs rates which were drawn up in 1275. The nature of his economic policy in England, and particularly in Bristol, is clearly a matter of first-rate importance, and, if it can be elucidated, will throw a flood of light on events there.¹ However strong the opposition which he aroused in Bristol, he found there a number of staunch adherents and useful agents. His strong hand repressed any tendency towards disorder in Bristol during his reign, but did not remove the causes of discontent, which continued to smoulder, and burst into flame in the unhappy days of his son. All this is the essential background of the insurrection.

The immediate causes of the rebellion are generally, and correctly, stated to be the dominance of an oligarchical party within the town, possibly working through a small council, and in alliance with Bartholomew de Badelesmere, the constable of the castle. In particular, trouble was caused by their control, and apparently their abuse of the cocket. He reat once we are led to wider issues, which connect events at Bristol with political mutations and combinations in the country as a whole, and with the economic policy of Edward II and of the Ordainers. A careful examination will reveal how very closely they are interwoven, and will provide the key to an understanding of many of the twists and turns of Bristol affairs between 1312 and 1316 which, regarded from the exclusive standpoint of local history, are incomprehensible. The affiliations of the Bristol parties with the king, the Ordainers, and the party of Pembroke, and the various efforts, diplomatic, judicial and military, to put an end to the rebellion; the attempts of the Berkeleys to profit from the situation; and the part played by Badelesmere, provide a complicated but absorbing study.

The social, economic and party cleavages within the town itself must be fitted into the same broad pattern. The work of Fuller on the Tallage Roll of 6 Edward II made it abundantly clear that the oligarchical party consisted of the wealthiest merchants and their dependents. The investigations of Mr. Rich, and the study of customs accounts show that Bristol's wool export was very small, save in exceptional circumstances, and that it was the

¹ Mr. E. E. Rich provides very helpful and suggestive material for the reigns of Edward I and his successors in *The Staple Court Books of Bristol* (Bristol Record Society, vol. v), as does also Tout, *Place of Edward II in English History*.

lesser merchants who were engaged in it. These were most likely to suffer from oligarchical control of the cocket. As in the case of London, so in Bristol, control of the staple tended to fall into the hands of an oligarchy of burgesses who belonged to the victualling crafts,¹ and there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that, at the time of the insurrection, the wealthiest of the Bristol merchants were engaged in the wine trade and in shipping. From the beginning the staple at Bristol was mainly a judicial franchise, and one which benefited the privileged few. Bristol's main industry, however, and one which developed rapidly in the fourteenth century, was the cloth industry, and soon its magnates were able to break the domination of the victuallers, and gain control both of the staple and of the town. The following out of this movement, still with constant reference to national events, has a direct bearing upon the study of Bristol's municipal government, and its reorganization both in 1373 and 1499.²

The parliamentary representation of the borough is, as Latimer realized, important, and reflects much light upon conditions in Bristol.³ An examination, for example, of the writs and returns for Bristol before, during and after the insurrection, would be of some interest. In 1311 Richard Colpek and John Fraunceys, senior, were elected, both of whom are subsequently known to have been prominent members of what has been called the 'popular' party in the town.⁴ The writ *de expensis*, however, gives the names of John Fraunceys and Adam Welyshotte, the latter of whom was an equally prominent member of the oligarchical party. Again, in the same year, John Hazard and John le Lung, both active members of the 'popular' party were returned. In 1313 only one of the members in the available returns, John Fraunceys, can be identified with a party in the town. For the Parliament of York in 1314 Robert Wyldemersh of the 'popular' party, and Thomas le Spicer of the oligarchical party, were elected by the authority of the custodian of the liberties of Bristol, but both refused to give

¹ Rich., *op. cit.*, 75 ff.

² In connection with the creation of the county of Bristol it is well to remember that Temple Fee was inhabited by many cloth-workers and merchants.

³ Latimer, *Calendar*, 103 ff.; Hunt, *Bristol*, 32, 75, 85-7. See M. McKisack, *The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs during the Middle Ages*.

⁴ See Hunt, *Bristol*, 63 ff.; Latimer, *loc. cit.*; and Fuller, *loc. cit.* The term is convenient, but can easily be misleading. It is unlikely that this party was opposed to oligarchy in principle, or in any way 'democratically' inclined.

security to serve. In 1316 there are no returns for Bristol, but in 1318 both her representatives, Gilbert Pokerel and Richard Wodehull, were 'popular' men. Thereafter it is more difficult to identify the party connections of Bristol's representatives. At this particular period, perhaps just because it was so unsettled, the re-election of Members of Parliament was rare; but generally, from the earliest times, the frequent return of the same Members for Bristol is very striking, and it becomes even more so in the reign of Edward III.¹ After the creation of the county, Bristol, unlike London, was not required to send four representatives to Parliament. The charter of 1373 provided that only two burgesses should be elected, to sit as knights of the shire as well as Burgesses.² From 1432 onwards the franchise in Bristol was restricted to the forty-shilling freeholders, in accordance with the statute of 1429, which applied to the shires only. Bristol alone of the urban counties specifically stated that it had adopted the forty-shilling franchise.³ It does not appear that this made any difference in the type of members elected. Bristol's members were wealthy and important burgesses, men like Walter de Derby, William Canynges and Philip Meade. Already experienced in municipal office, their frequent service as Members of Parliament enabled them to play a leading part there, as did Thomas Yonge, merchant and lawyer, eight times Member for Bristol, the central figure in the famous case of 1451 concerning freedom of speech.⁴ Here, as in other ways, the growingly oligarchical character of Bristol's municipal government is reflected.

Bristol is one of the very few boroughs which early possessed a common council of important burgesses to prevent arbitrary action on the part of the mayor and bailiffs.⁵ In 1344, Colford tells us, "although the mayor is appointed governor for the maintenance of the above (customs and ordinances) in the said town, nevertheless at the request of Stephen le Spicer, elected mayor in the abovesaid year, for the better performance of his office and rule of the town forty-eight of the more influential (*potencioribus*), and discreet men of the town were elected by common assent (*communi assensu*) as advisors and assessors to him for aiding and

¹ McKisack, *op. cit.*, 41, 65.

² *Vol. i*, pp. 134-6. *Infra*, pp. 118-21.

³ McKisack, *op. cit.*, 52, n. 1.

⁴ *R. Parl.*, v. 337. See the article in the *D.N.B.*

⁵ See Tait, *M.E.B.*, 330-1; also B. Wilkinson, *The Mediæval Council of Exeter*.

expediting the business of the town."¹ It would be interesting to know more of the circumstances in which this reform took place, and whether the council of forty-eight was a doubling or quadrupling of an older council. Provision was made for the meeting of the Council in the Guildhall at the summons of the mayor, and if there were absentees business might be transacted by twenty-four, or at least twelve, councillors. The absentees were however liable for a fine of 6d.² In 1349 the duty of the forty-eight councillors then elected was described as "ad tractandum in communi concilio,"³ and Common Council continued to be the name by which this body and its successor were known.

The charter of 1373 reduced the number of councillors to forty, perhaps, it has been suggested, to bring them into relation to the five aldermen,⁴ though the office was not a new one at that date. Qualifications for holding office as alderman were laid down in the ordinances of 1344. No one might be elected as an alderman unless he had his own house and rent, and no one might be elected mayor who had not previously been an alderman.⁵ The tendency towards exclusiveness is apparent in 1344: it is much more so in 1373, when it was established that the council of forty should be chosen by the mayor and sheriff with the assent of the community.⁶ Henry VII's charter of 1499 put an end to the popular election of the aldermen, and their number was increased to six by the inclusion of the recorder. The aldermen, other than the recorder, were chosen by the mayor and commonalty, but could only be removed from office by the mayor and their fellow aldermen.⁷ The mayor himself could only be elected from amongst those who were, or had been, aldermen. The rather vague provision that the Common Council was to be elected by the mayor and—now—two aldermen, with the assent of the commonalty, remained,⁸ but later charters allowed the Council to fill its own vacancies. So, by the end of the fifteenth century the government of Bristol had become, in form as well as in fact, completely oligarchical.

¹ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 25.

² *Ibid.*, 26-7.

³ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴ Tait, *M.E.B.*, 331.

⁵ *L.R.B.*, ed. Bickley, i. 40.

⁶ *Vol. i*, p. 136.

⁷ *Infra*, p. 170.

⁸ *Infra*, pp. 182-3.

These later developments are well known. The charter of 1373, which created the county of Bristol, described with unusual detail the government of the town, regulated its relations with the central government, and carefully outlined the scope of its jurisdiction. It is a document of the greatest significance not only in the history of Bristol, but in the evolution of borough incorporation in England.¹ The great problems of Bristol municipal government lie in the period between 1200 and 1373, and a satisfactory synthesis of Bristol history in that period has yet to be made.

¹ See M. Weinbaum, *The Incorporation of Boroughs*, 54 ff.

BRISTOL CHARTERS

1378—1499

8th February, 1 Richard II (1378)

Letters Patent (Inspeximus), reciting and confirming those of Edward III issued on 20th December, 1373 (see vol. i, p. 170) and 24th April, 1347 (see vol. i, p. 108). The text agrees with the originals save for a few unimportant scribal variations. The name of the Chancery clerk is Faryngton; and the folded bottom margin of the outer membrane has on its upper edge the memorandum "examine per Robertum de Faryngton et . . ." (At this point the edge has been cut away.) There is a note of warranty and a further memorandum "per ipsum regem et consilium commune predicti Burgenses onerati sunt ad faciendam unam balangeram."¹

The original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01212) consist of two membranes measuring 13½ in. × 17 in. The Great Seal in green wax (edges damaged) is attached to the folded bottom margin by green and red silk cords braided through holes in the usual manner. Blank spaces have been left for initial letters in the address and in the text.

Endorsements: Carta Domini Ricardi Regis Anno Primo Regni Sui.

(In later hands) Rich^d 2^d 1378.

A°: 1°: R: 2.

C.P.R. 1377-81, 153; Seyer, Bristol Charters, 88-89; Latimer, Calendar, 84.

28th February, 1 Richard II (1378)

Letters Patent (Inspeximus) reciting and confirming the charter of 16th October, 5 Edward III (1331) (See vol. i, pp. 78-82), which recites the following:—28th July, 31 Henry III (1247); 17th February, 15 Edward II (1322); 28th March, 28 Edward I (1300); John, Count of Mortain (1188); 1st May, 11 Henry III (1227); Henry II (1155); 17th August, 36 Henry III (1252); and 24th July, 40 Henry III (1256).

Text from the original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01213), written on a single membrane measuring 27½ × 21 in., to the folded bottom margin of which the Great Seal

¹ *Balinger*, a small ship or tender; literally, whaleboat.

(damaged) is attached by green and red silk cords braided through holes in the usual manner. Blank spaces have been left for the initial letters of Ricardus and Rex in the first line. There are some notes and references to the text in a seventeenth-century hand in the left-hand margin, and in an earlier hand in the right-hand margin. These hands correspond with those of the first two endorsements.

Endorsements :—Carta confirmacione [sic] Ricardi

(In a later hand) Richard 2nd Charter 1378 with a Recitall verbatim of King John's charter.

(In a later hand) A° : 1 : R : 2.

C.P.R. 1377-81, 150. Seyer, *Bristol Charters*, 90-91; Latimer, *Calendar*, 85.

a
16 Oct.
5 E. III.
(1331)

b
28 July
31 H. III.
(1247)

[R]icardus dei gracia [R]ex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem Inspeximus cartam domini E[dwardi] nuper Regis Anglie Aui nostri in hec verba Edwardus dei gracia [R]ex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliis et <2> fidelibus suis salutem Inspeximus cartam quam bone memorie dominus H[enricus] quondam Rex Anglie Auus noster fecit in hec verba Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus hibernie Dux Normannie Aquitanie et Comes Andegaui Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliis et fidelibus suis salutem Sciatis nos concessisse pro nobis et heredibus nostris Bur - <3> - gensibus nostris de la Radeclue in suburbio Bristoll' quod imperpetuum respondeant cum Burgensibus nostris Bristoll' coram Iusticiariis nostris sicut dicti Burgenses nostri de Bristoll' respondent et vbi respondent et non alibi Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predicti Burgenses nostri de la Radeclue in suburbio Bristoll' imperpetuum responde - <4> - ant cum Burgensibus nostris Bristoll' coram Iusticiariis nostris sicut dicti Burgenses nostri de Bristoll' respondent et vbi respondent et non alibi sicut predictum est Hiis testibus Ricardo Comite Cornubie fratre nostro • Ricardo de Clara Comite Gloucestrie et Hertford' • Iohanne Maunsell preposito Beuerlaci • Warino Mountchanes • Radulpho filio Nicholai • Ricardo de Grey • Iohanne de Grey Iusticiario Cestrie • Paulino <5> Peyure • Roberto de Muscetros • Willelmo de Bello Monte • Roberto le Noreys • et aliis • Data per manum nostram apud Wodestok' vicesimo octuauo die Iulii anno regni nostri trice-

^c
7 Feb.
5 E. II.
1322)

^d
8 Mar.
8 E. I.
1300).

^e
John, Ct.
f
Mortain
1188)

simo primo Inspeximus eciam cartam confirmacionis quam celebris memorie dominus E[dwardus] nuper Rex Anglie pater noster fecit Burgensibus suis de Bristoll' in hec verba Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et (6) Dux Aquitanie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliuis et fidelibus suis salutem Inspeximus cartam confirmacionis quam bone memorie dominus E[dwardus] quondam Rex Anglie pater noster fecit Burgensibus suis de Bristoll' in hec verba Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus (7) Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliuis et fidelibus suis salutem Inspeximus cartam quam bone memorie Iohannes Comes Moretonie fecit Burgensibus suis de Bristoll' infra muros et extra manentibus vsque ad metas ville in hec verba Iohannes Comes Moretonie omnibus hominibus et amicis suis francis et anglicis walensibus et hiberniensibus presentibus et futuris salutem Scia-(8)-tis me concessisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse Burgensibus meis de Bristoll' infra muros et extra muros manentibus vsque ad metas ville scilicet inter Sandbroc et Bewell et Brithenebrige et fontem in itinere iuxta Aldebiriam de knolle omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines suas sicut vnquam melius et liberius et integrius eas habuerunt tempore meo vel tempore alicuius predecessorum meorum Libertates (9) autem quas eis concessi sunt Hee scilicet quod nullus Burgensis de Bristoll' placitet vel placitetur¹ extra muros ville de villo placito preter placita de exterioribus tenementis que non pertinent ad hundredum ville et quod quieti sint de murdro infra metas ville Et quod nullus Burgensis faciat duellum nisi apellatus fuerit de morte exterioris hominis qui occisus fuerit in villa et qui non fuerit de villa et quod nemo capiat hospicium (10) infra muros per assisam vel per liberacionem Marescallorum contra voluntatem Burgensium et quod sint quieti de theloneo et lestagio et passagio et pontagio et de omnibus aliis consuetudinibus per totam terram et potestatem meam et quod nullus iudicetur de misericordia pecunie nisi secundum legem hundredi scilicet per forisfacturam quadraginta solidorum et quod Hundredum tantum semel teneatur in septimana et quod in nullo placito possit quis (11) causari per Meskenyngam et quod iuste habeant terras et tenuras suas et

¹ "Vel placitetur" does not occur in the original Charter of 1188, and is first noted as an interpolation in the Inspeximus of 12th January, 4 Ed. III (1331). See *vol. i*, p. 73, n. 3.

vadimonia et debita sua per totam terram meam quicumque eis
 debeat et quod de terris et tenuris que infra villam sunt rectum
 eis teneatur secundum consuetudinem ville et quod de debitis
 que accomodata fuerint Bristoll' et de vadimoniis ibidem factis
 placita in villa teneantur secundum consuetudinem ville et quod
 si aliquis alicubi in terra mea ceperit Theloneum <12> de hominibus
 Bristoll' si non reddiderit postquam requisitus fuerit reddere pre-
 positus Bristoll' capiat inde namium apud Bristoll' et distringat
 reddere et quod nullus extraneus Mercator emat infra villam de
 homine extraneo coria vel blada vel lanam nisi de Burgensibus et
 quod nullus extraneus habeat tabernam nisi in naui nec vendat
 pannos ad decisionem nisi in nundinis et quod nullus extraneus
 moretur <13> in villa cum mercibus suis propter merces suas ven-
 dendas nisi per quadraginta dies et quod nullus Burgensis alicubi
 in terra vel potestate mea namietur vel distringatur pro aliquo
 debito nisi sit debitor vel plegius et quod possint maritare se et
 filios et filias et viduas sine licencia dominorum suorum et quod
 nullus dominorum suorum propter forenses terras habeat custo-
 diam vel donacionem filiorum vel filiarum suarum aut <14> vidua-
 rum set tantum custodiam tenementorum suorum que sunt de
 feodo suo donec etatem habeant et quod nulla recognicio fiat in
 villa et quod nullus capiat tynam in villa nisi ad opus domini
 Comitis et hoc secundum consuetudinem ville et quod possint
 molere blada sua vbicumque voluerint et quod habeant omnes
 rationabiles gildas suas sicut melius eas habuerunt tempore
 Roberti et Willelmi filii sui Comitum Gloucestrie et quod nullus
 <15> Burgensis cogatur replegiare aliquem nisi ipse voluerit qua-
 muis sit super suam terram manens. Concessi eciam eis omnes
 tenuras suas infra muros et extra muros vsque ad predictas metas
 in mesagiis in virgultis in edificiis super aquam et alibi vbicumque
 fuerint in villa tenendas in liberum burgagium scilicet per servi-
 tium landgabuli quod reddunt infra muros Concessi eciam quod
 quilibet <16> eorum possit se emendare quantum poterit in edificiis
 faciendis vbique super ripam et alibi sine dampno Burgi et villate
 et quod habeant et possideant omnes terras et placeas vacuas que
 infra predictas metas continentur ad voluntatem eorum edifican-
 das Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predicti Burgenses mei
 de Bristoll' et heredes sui habeant et teneant omnes predictas
 libertates et liberas consuetudines suas <17> sicut prescriptum est
 de me et heredibus meis sicut vnquam melius et integrius eas
 habuerunt quando bone fuerunt bene et in pace et honorifice
 absque omni impedimento vel molestia quam aliquis eis inde faciat

Testibus Stephano Rid[el] Cancellario meo • Willelmo de Wenneu[al] • Rogero de Planes • Rogero de Nouo Burgo • Mauricio de Berkel[e] • Roberto fratre suo • Ham[one] de Val[oniis] • Sim[one] de Marisco • Gilberto <18> Rass'¹ • Willelmo de la Faleyse • Magistro Benedicto • Magistro Petro • et multis aliis • apud Bristallum • Inspeximus eciam cartam confirmacionis quam celebris memorie dominus H[enricus] quondam Rex Anglie pater noster fecit predictis Burgensibus in hec verba H[enricus] dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie Dux Normannie Aquitanie et Comes Andegaue Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis forestariis vicecomitibus <19> Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliis et fidelibus suis salutem Sciatis quod inspeximus cartam H[enrici] Regis Aui nostri in hec verba H[enricus] Rex Anglie et Dux Normannie et Aquitanie et Comes Andegaue Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis vicecomitibus et omnibus hominibus terre sue salutem Sciatis me concessisse Burgensibus meis de Bristoll' quod sint quieti de thelonio et passagio et omni consuetudine per totam terram <20> meam Anglie Normannie et Walie vbicumque venerint ipsi et res eorum Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod habeant omnes libertates et quietancias et liberas consuetudines suas plene et honorifice sicut mei liberi et fideles homines, et sint quieti de telonio et passagio et omni alia consuetudine Et prohibeo ne quis eos super hoc disturbet contra hanc cartam meam super .x.li. forisfacturam Testibus Th[oma] kancelario • Willelmo fratre <21> Regis • Regin[aldo] Comite Cornub[ie] • Rogero Comite hereford • Patricio Comite Sar[esberie] • Ricardo de hum[ez] Constabulario • Warino filio Geraldi Camerario • Walt[ero] de Hereford' • Iohanne Mar[iscallo] • apud Saresberiam • Nos igitur hanc concessionem et has quietancias et consuetudines ratas et gratas habentes eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris confirmamus Hiis testibus dominus Ioscel[ino] Bathon[iensi] et Ricardo Sar[esberiensi] • Episcopis • Huberto de Burgo <22> Comite Kanc[ie] Iustic[iario] nostro • Willelmo Mar[iscallo] Comite Penbr[ochie] • Radulpho filio Nicholai et Ricardo de Argent[ina] • Senescallis nostris • Henr[ico] de Capella • et aliis • Data per manum venerabilis patris Rad[ulphi] Cicestr[ensis] Episcopi Cancellarii nostri apud Westmonasterium primo die Maii anno regni nostri vndecimo • Inspeximus eciam cartam quam predictus pater noster similiter fecit predictis Burgensibus in hec

¹ Rass' in the text may be a scribal error for Bass[et].

f
1 May
11 H. III.
(1227)

g
H. II.
(1255)

^h
17 Aug.
36 H. III.
(1252)

verba Henricus dei gracia <23> Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie Dux Normannie Aquitanie et Comes Andegaue Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus balliuis et fidelibus suis salutem Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse pro nobis et heredibus nostris quasdam libertates concessas Burgensibus nostris de Bristoll' et heredibus suis imperpetuum a domino I[ohanne] Rege patre nostro <24> dum fuit Comes Moretonie per cartam suam eis inde confectam videlicet quod nullus Burgensis Bristoll' placitet, seu placitetur de ullo placito extra muros ville Bristoll' preter placita de exterioribus tenementis que non pertinent ad hundredum ville Item quod sint quieti de murthero infra metas ville Item quod nullus Burgensis faciat duellum nisi appellatus fuerit de morte exterioris hominis qui <25> non fuerit de villa et qui occisus fuerit in villa Item quod nullus Burgensis amercietur ad penam pecuniariam nisi secundum legem hundredi scilicet ad summam viginti solidorum Item quod nullus Burgensis possit occasionari in villo placito per Meskenynge Item quod hundredum Bristollie tantum semel teneatur in septimana Item quod iuste habeant terras et tenuras suas et vadia et debita sua quicumque eis debeat et quod <26> de terris et tenuris suis que infra villam sunt rectum eis teneatur secundum consuetudinem ville et quod de debitis que accomodata fuerint Bristoll' et de vademoniis ibidem datis placita in villa teneantur et si aliquis alicubi in terra iniuste ceperit theloneum de hominibus Bristoll' et non reddiderit postquam requisitus fuerit reddere prepositus Bristoll' capiat pro eo namium apud Bristoll' et distringet reddere <27> et quod nullus extraneus mercator emat infra villam de homine extraneo coria blada lanam vel alias mercandisas nisi de Burgensibus eiusdem ville et quod nullus extraneus mercator habeat tabernam nisi in naui nec vendat pannos scindendos nisi in nundinis et quod nullus extraneus mercator moretur in villa cum mercibus suis ad eas vendendas vltra quadraginta dies et quod possint <28> maritare se filios et filias suas et viduas sine licencia dominorum suorum et quod nullus dominorum suorum propter forinsecas terras suas habeat custodiam vel maritagium filiorum vel filiarum suarum aut viduarum nisi tantum custodiam tenementorum suorum que sunt de feodo suo donec etatem legitimam compleuerint et quod nullus capiat tynam nisi ad opus domini et hoc secundum consuetudinem ville scilicet quod tyna contineat viginti et <29> quatuor galones et vbi capta non est dentur nobis duo denarii pro dicta tyna et quod possint molere blada sua vbicumque voluerint et quod

habeant omnes rationabiles gildas suas et quod nullus burgensis cogatur replegiare aliquem nisi bene voluerit quamuis maneat super terram suam et quod teneant omnes terras et tenuras suas infra muros et extra vsque ad metas Bristoll' in mesuagiis virgultis et edificiis super <30> aquam et alibi vbicumque fuerint in villa tenendas in liberum burgagium scilicet per seruicium landgabuli quod reddunt infra muros sunt eciam mete ville inter Sandbroc et Bewell' Brichtieubrigg et Fontem in itinere iuxta Aldebiriam de Knolle et quod quilibet eorum possit se emendare quantum poterit in edificiis faciendis super ripam et alibi sine dampno Burgi et villate et quod habeant et possi- <31> - deant omnes terras suas et placeas vacuas que infra predictas metas continentur ad voluntatem suam edificandas Concessimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus adicientes libertatibus predictis quod nullus eorum decetero occasionetur ab aliquo Iusticiario nostro foreste vel alio Balliuo nostro pro venacione inuenta infra muros eiusdem ville Bristoll' Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et <32> heredibus nostris quod predicti Burgenses Bristoll' et heredes sui habeant et teneant imperpetuum omnes terras et libertates predictas cum liberis consuetudinibus supradictis sicut carta predicti domini I[ohannis] Regis patris nostri dum fuit Comes Moretonie quam inde habent et hec carta nostra rationabiliter testantur et cum adieccione predictae libertatis de venacione inuenta infra muros eiusdem ville sicut predictum est Hiis testibus <33> Venerabilibus patribus W[illelmo] Bathon[iensi] et Wellen[si] Episcopo • et A[dam] Winton[iensi] Electo • Ricardo de Clare Comite Glouc[estrie] et Hertfordie] • Galfrido de lezinnan et Willelmo de Valencia fratibus nostris • Radulpho filio Nicholai • Iohanne Maunsel' preposito Beuerlaci • Bertramo de Cryoll • Magistro Willelmo de Kilkenny Archidiacono Couentrensi • Galfrido de langele • Roberto de Muscegnos • Roberto Walerande • Nicholao de Sancto <34> Mauro • Radulpho de Bakepuz • Rogero de lokinton • Roberto le Noreys • et aliis • Data per manum nostram apud Wodestoke septimo decimo die Augusti anno regni nostri tricesimo sexto • Inspeximus eciam quandam aliam cartam quam idem pater noster similiter fecit prefatis Burgensibus in hec verba Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie Dux Normannie Aquitanie et Comes Andegauie Archi- <35> -episcopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis vicecomitibus prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliuis et fidelibus suis salutem Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse pro nobis et heredibus nostris Burgensibus de Bristoll'

ⁱ
24 July
40 H. III.
(1256)

quod ipsi et eorum heredes Burgenses eiusdem ville de se ipsis eligere possint et creare Coronatores in predicta villa ad attachiamenta placitorum Corone nostre infra <36> predictam villam et libertatem eiusdem ville emergencium facienda et respondeant coram Iusticiariis nostris itinerantibus in partibus illis de attachiamentis per ipsos factis et aliis ad officium Coronatoris pertinentibus sicut alii Coronatores nostri respondere debent et solent et quod dicti Burgenses pro transgressione seu forisfactura seruientum suorum catalla et bona sua in manibus ipsorum <37> inuenta aut alicubi locorum per ipsos seruientes deposita quatenus sua esse sufficienter probare poterunt non amittant Et eciam si dicti Burgenses aut eorum aliqui infra terram et potestatem nostram testati decesserint vel intestati Nos vel heredes nostri bona ipsorum confiscari non faciemus quin eorum heredes integre ipsa habeant quatenus dicta catalla dictorum defunctorum fuisse constit- <38> erit Dumtamen de dictis heredibus noticia aut fides sufficienter habeatur et quod iidem Burgenses per totam terram et potestatem nostram habeant et teneant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines suas hucusque optentas et vsitatas adeo quiete et integre sicut Cives Londonie vel alii de regno et potestate nostra libertates suas melius et liberius habent et tenent Concessimus eciam <39> eisdem Burgensibus quod si aliquibus articulis in carta nostra eisdem Burgensibus de libertatibus prius concessa contentis minus plene vsi fuerunt eisdem decetero eo non obstante libere et sine impedimento alicuius vtantur prout iidem articuli in eadem carta rationabiliter continentur Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predicti Burgenses et eorum heredes imperpetuum habeant omnes <40> libertates prescriptas et eisdem decetero libere et sine impedimento alicuius vtantur imperpetuum sicut predictum est Et prohibemus super forisfacturam nostram viginti librarum ne quis eos contra hanc libertatem et concessionem nostram molestare vel inquietare presumat Hiis testibus Guidone de lezinnan¹ • et Willelmo de Valencia • fratibus nostris • Iohanne de Plesseto Comite Warr[wick] • Rogero de Thurkelby • <41> Roberto Waleraund' • Walkelino de Ardern' • Nicholao de sancto Mauro • Radulpho de Bake[puz] • Bartholomeo le Bygod • Willelmo de Sancto Ereminio • Willelmo Gernun' • et aliis • Data per manum nostram apud Gloucestriam vicesimo quarto die Iulii Anno regni nostri quadragesimo • Nos autem concessionem et confirmationem predictas ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris <42> predictis Burgensibus

¹ The original Charter of Henry III adds 'Galfrido de Lezinnan.'

et successoribus suis Burgensibus eiusdem ville quantum in nobis est concedimus et confirmamus sicut carte predictae rationabiliter testantur Preterea concessimus eisdem Burgensibus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod ipsi et successores sui Burgenses eiusdem ville imperpetuum sint quieti de muragio stallagio et pauagio per totum regnum nostrum et potestatem nostram et quod ipsi et succes <43> sores sui predicti quocienscumque et quandocumque Maiorem suum eligerint in villa predicta tempore guerre dumtaxat excepto ipsum Constabulario Castri nostri eiusdem ville qui pro tempore fuerit presentent qui ipsum prout moris est admittat et prout huiusmodi Maiores eiusdem ville ad scaccarium nostrum prius presentari consueuerant et admitti et sumptibus eorundem Burgensium <44> inde certificet Thesaurarium et Barones nostros de scaccario supradicto Hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus R[oberto] Cantuar[iensi] Archiepiscopo totius Anglie Primate • R[icardo] London[iensi] • W[altero] Couentren[si] et Lichfe[l]den[si] • S[imone] Sar[esberien]si • Episcopis • Iohanne de Warrena Comite et Surr[ey] • Rogero le Bygod Comite Norff[olk] et Marescallo Anglie • Henrico de Lacy Comite Lincoln' • Guidone de Bello Campo Comite Warr[wick] • <45> Iohanne de Segraue • Hugone le Despens[er] • Waltero de Bello Campo Senescallo Hospicii nostri • Rogero le Brabazon • Willelmo de Bereford' • Willelmo Haward • et aliis • Data per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium vicesimo octauo die Marcii anno regni nostri vicesimo octauo Nos autem concessionem et confirmationem predictas ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus <46> nostris quantum in nobis est prefatis Burgensibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus concedimus et confirmamus sicut dicta carta confirmationis rationabiliter testatur et prout iidem Burgenses et eorum antecessores Burgenses eiusdem ville libertatibus et quietanciis in eadem carta contentis hactenus vsi sunt rationabiliter et gauisi Hiis testibus Edmundo Comite Kancie fratre nostro Carissimo • <47> Iohanne de Britannia Comite Riche-mund' • Edmundo Comite Arundell' • Thoma Wake • Iohanne de Sancto Iohanne de Basyng • Radulpho Gorges • Gilberto Pecche Senescallo hospicii nostri • et aliis • Data per manum nostram apud Gloucestriam decimo septimo die Februarii anno regni nostri quintodecimo • Nos autem donaciones concessionem et confirmationem predictas ratas habentes et <48> gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est predictis Burgensibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus concedimus

et confirmamus prout carte predictae rationabiliter testantur. Preterea volentes eisdem Burgensibus gratiam in hac parte facere specialem Concessimus eis pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod licet ipsi vel eorum antecessores siue predecessores aliqua vel aliquibus <49> libertatum et quietanciarum in dictis cartis contentarum aliquo casu emergente hactenus vni non fuerint iidem tamen Burgenses et eorum heredes et successores libertatibus et quietanciis predictis et earum qualibet decetero plene gaudeant et vtantur sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum Iusticiariorum Escaetorum Vicecomitum Coronatorum aut aliorum Balliuorum seu <50> Ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque. Insuper cum ut intelleximus terre et tenementa bona et catalla orphanorum et puerorum in eadem villa et suburbio eiusdem infra etatem existencium que per Maiorem eiusdem ville certis Custodibus qui inde dictis orphanis et pueris cum ad legitimam etatem suam peruenerint respondeant committi debent secundum consuetudinem in eadem villa <51> hactenus optentam pro eo quod huiusmodi Custodes et eorum manucaptores se ab eadem villa elongarunt et terras et tenementa sua in eisdem villa et suburbio alienarunt nec habuerunt ibidem unde iusticiari poterunt ad satisfaciendum predictis orphanis et pueris tempore debito de bonis et catallis per ipsos sic receptis ante hec tempora multipliciter deuas- <52>-tata fuerunt et deperdita ad dampnum et depauperacionem ipsorum orphanorum et puerorum manifestam. Nos ad requisicionem dictorum Burgensium volentes dictorum orphanorum et puerorum indemnitati prospicere oportuno remedio in hac parte concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris et hac carta nostra confirmauimus eisdem Burgensibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus <53>-ribus quod Maior ville predictae qui pro tempore fuerit imperpetuum recipere possit ab omnibus et singulis quibus custodiam terrarum et tenementorum bonorum et catallorum huiusmodi orphanorum et puerorum sic commiserit et eorum manucaptoribus recogniciones de quibuscumque pecuniarum summis ipsis orphanis et pueris certis terminis soluendis et easdem pecuniarum summas sic recognitas <54> de terris et tenementis bonis et catallis ipsorum Custodum et manucaptorum suorum in villa et suburbio predictis existentibus ad sectam et eleccionem dictorum orphanorum et puerorum seu executorum suorum ad quorumcumque manus terre et tenementa illa deuenerint leuare seu medietatem terrarum et tenementorum eorundem vna cum bonis et catallis illis vsque ad dictas summas sic recognitas <55> eisdem orphanis et pueris vel eorum executoribus liberare tenendam vt liberumtenementum suum

iuxta formam statuti de huiusmodi recognicionibus apud Westmonasterium editi Preterea cum per inquisitionem per dilectos et fideles nostros Willelmum de Shareshulle et Robertum de Aston' de mandato nostro captam et in Cancellaria nostra retornatam sit compertum <56> quod predicti Burgenses et eorum antecessores et predecessores Burgenses eiusdem ville a tempore quo non extat memoria semper hactenus habuerunt visum franciplegii in villa et suburbio predictis cum omnibus ad huiusmodi visum pertinentibus de hominibus in eisdem villa et suburbio commorantibus Ac iidem Burgenses pro eo quod inde speciale warentum <57> per aliquam cartam alicuius progenitorum nostrorum hactenus non habuerunt metuant se posse futuris temporibus occasionari et eciam impetiri Nos pro grato obsequio quod iidem Burgenses nobis et progenitoribus nostris hactenus impenderunt necnon per finem quem iidem Burgenses fecerunt nobiscum volentes eorum securitati in hac parte prouideri <58> concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris et hac carta nostra confirmauimus prefatis Burgensibus quod ipsi heredes et successores sui Burgenses eiusdem ville habeant visum franciplegii in villa et suburbio predictis cum omnibus ad huiusmodi visum pertinentibus de hominibus in eisdem villa et suburbio commorantibus imperpetuum Nolentes quod iidem <59> Burgenses heredes et successores sui racione visus predicti pro tempore preterito per nos vel heredes nostros Iusticiarios aut alios Ministros nostros quoscumque occasionentur molestentur in aliquo seu grauentur quouismodo Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predicti Burgenses heredes et successores sui Burgenses eiusdem ville habeant <60> omnes libertates supradictas et eciam visum franciplegii in villa et suburbio predictis cum omnibus ad huiusmodi visum pertinentibus de hominibus in eisdem villa et suburbio commorantibus imperpetuum sicut predictum est Hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus S[imone]¹ Archiepiscopo Cantuar[iensi] tocius Anglie primate • I[ohanne] Wynton[iensi] Episcopo Cancellario nostro • Thoma Comite Norff[olk'] et Marescallo <61> Anglie • Iohanne de Warennia Comite Surr[ey'] • Hugone de Courteneye • Henrico de Percy • Thoma Wak • Radulpho de Neuill Senescallo Hospicii nostri • et alijs • Data per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium sextodecimo die Octobris Anno regni nostri quinto. Nos autem concessiones donaciones et confirmaciones supradictas ratas habentes et gratas eas <62> pro nobis et heredibus nostris

¹ The words "sicut predictum est . . . patribus S" are written over an erasure.

quantum in nobis est prefatis Burgensibus nostris Bristoll' et eorum heredibus et successoribus Burgensibus ville predictae tenore presencium concedimus et confirmamus prout dicta carta prefati Aui nostri racionabiliter testatur et prout iidem burgenses et eorum antecessores siue predecessores libertatibus et quietanciis ac aliis <63> premissis racionabiliter vti et gaudere consueuerunt In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo octauo die Februarii Anno regni nostri primo

Faryngton

per ipsum regem et consilium commune predicti Burgenses onerati sunt ad faciendam vnam balingeram.

Examine per Robertum Faryngton' et Robertum de Melton clericos.

Irrotulatur.

1st April, 19 Richard II (1396)

Charter (Inspeximus) reciting and confirming the charters of 8th and 28th February, 1 Richard II (1378) (supra, pp. 87 ff), to which are added the non-user of liberties clause, and the concession that in future the Seneschal and Marshal and Clerk of the Market of the Royal Household shall not sit or exercise their offices within the liberty of the town of Bristol, nor shall they cite any Burgess or person residing within the liberty outside the town on any plea touching cases arising therein.

Text from the original charter preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01214). It is written on three membranes measuring 30½ × 18½ in. The Great Seal and cords are missing.

Endorsements: Rich^d 2^d

Carta R 2 [In red ink]

Richard 2^d 1396

A°: 19°: R: 2:

C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, 353; Seyer, Bristol Charters, 92ff. There is a transcript from the Charter Roll in the Archives of the Corporation (C.T.'s Dept.: 04383(1), pp. 55-57). See also Latimer, Calendar, 89.

Ricardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus Prioribus Ducibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omni-

bus Balliuis et fidelibus suis salutem Inspeximus litteras nostras patentes de confirmacione quas Burgensibus ville nostre Bristollie nuper fieri fecimus in hec verba Ricardus dei gracia Rex (2) [*Here follows the Inspeximus of 8th February, 1378. See above, p. 87. It then continues at line 60 :—*] Inspeximus insuper quasdam alias litteras nostras patentes de confirmacione quas prefatis Burgensibus nuper fieri fecimus in hec verba Ricardus dei gracia Rex [*Here follows the Inspeximus of 28th February, 1378. See above, p. 88. It then continues on membrane 3 at line 55 :—*] No sautem donaciones concessionones confirmaciones precepta perambulacionem libertates priuilegia franchises quietancias immunitates articulos et consuetudines predicta et omnia alia et singula in dictis cartis et litteris contenta explanata et specificata rata habentes (56) et grata ea pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est prefatis Burgensibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus Burgensibus ville illius imperpetuum de gracia nostra speciali tenore presencium concedimus et confirmamus prout carte et littere predicte rationabiliter testantur Preterea volentes prefatis burgensibus gratiam in hac parte facere vberiorem concessimus eisdem Burgensibus et hac carta nostra confirmauimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod licet ipsi vel (57) eorum antecessores siue predecessores aliqua vel aliquibus donacionum concessionum confirmacionum preceptorum libertatum priuilegiorum franchisesiarum quietanciarum immunitatum articulorum consuetudinum in dictis cartis et litteris contentorum aliquo casu emergente hactenus vsi non fuerint iidem tamen Burgenses et eorum heredes et successores predictis donacionibus concessionibus confirmacionibus preceptis libertatibus priuilegiis franchisesiis (58) quietanciis immunitatibus articulis et consuetudinibus ac quibuscumque aliis in dictis cartis et litteris contentis et eorum quolibet decetero tam per terram quam per aquam plene gaudeant et vtantur imperpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum Iusticiariorum Escacorum Vicecomitum Coronatorum aut aliorum Balliuorum seu ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum quorumcumque Et in super ad instanciam et supplicacionem predictorum (59) Burgensium de eadem gracia nostra volumus et concedimus et hac carta nostra confirmamus pro nobis et heredibus nostris prefatis Burgensibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus imperpetuum quod Senescallus et marescallus aut clericus mercati hospicii nostri vel heredum nostrorum decetero infra libertatem ville predicte non sedeant nec officia sua ibidem exercean nec quicquam quod ad officia illa pertinet infra eandem libertatem faciant (60) nec aliquem

Burgensem ville predictae aut aliquam aliam personam infra libertatem eiusdem residentem in placitum extra libertatem ville predictae pro aliquibus infra eandem villam emergentibus vel emergendis trahant quoquomodo Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod prefati Burgenses et eorum heredes et successores imperpetuum habeant et teneant omnes et singulas concessiones et libertates predictas ac eis et earum qualibet modo et forma superius expressatis decetero plene gaudeant et utantur sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum Iusticiariorum Escaetorum Vicecomitum aut aliorum Balliuorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum quorumcumque Hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus W[illelmo] Cantuariensi totius Anglie Primate • T[homa] Eboracensi Anglie Primate Cancellario nostro • archiepiscopis • R[oberto] Londoniensi • R[icardo] Sarisberiensi • et T[idemanno] Wygorniensis • Episcopis • Iohanne Aquit[anie] et Lancastr[ie] • Edmundo Ebor[aci] • Thoma Gloucestr[ie] • Ducibus auunculis carissimis • Henr[ico] Derb[ie] • Ricardo Arundell[ie] • Henr[ico] Northumbr[ie] • Comitibus • Rogero Walden Thesaurario nostro • Thoma de Percy Senescallo hospicii nostri • Guidone Mone custode priuati sigilli nostri • et aliis • Dat[a] per manum nostram apud Ebor[acum] primo (63) die Aprilis Anno regni nostri decimo nono

Gaunstede

*per ipsum Regem**17th February, 2 Henry IV (1401)*

Charter (Inspeximus) confirming the charter of 1st April, 19 Richard II (1396) (supra, pp. 98-110), to which is added an additional non-user of liberties clause.

Text from the original charter preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01215), consisting of four membranes, of which the outer two measure 32 × 20½ in., and the inner two 21 × 19 in. The Great Seal (a poor impression) on red and white silk cords which have been cut off short at both ends, has been reattached by a thin green cord to the folded bottom margin. The two inner skins, damaged by damp, have been backed with manilla paper; but only a few words are illegible. These lacunae in the text have been supplied from the

Inspeximus of 12th January, 1 Henry V (1414). The initial H in the address is decorated with an acanthus leaf design, and the stems of the long letters in the first line with heart-shaped leaves. These decorations are crudely drawn, as are the small decorated capitals in the body of the charter.

Endorsements : A° : 2 : Hen : 4 : 17 : February.

Two further endorsements are illegible.

C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, 414-415. There is a transcript from the Charter Roll in the Archives of the Corporation (C.T.'s Dept. : 04383(1), pp. 79-101.). Latimer, *Calendar*, 90.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie Francie et Dominus Hibernie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Ducibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliis et fidelibus suis salutem Inspeximus cartam domini R[icardi] nuper Regis Anglie Secundi post conquestum factam in hec verba Ricardus dei gracia etc. [Here follows the Inspeximus of 1st April, 19 Richard II (1396), supra, pp. 98ff. It then continues on membrane 4 at line 52] Nos autem donaciones concessiones confirmaciones precepta perambulacionem libertates priuilegia franchises quietancias immunitates articulos et <53> consuetudines predicta ac omnia alia et singula in dictis cartis et litteris contenta explanati (sic) et specificata rata habentes et grata ea pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est prefatis burgensibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus Burgensibus ville illius imperpetuum de gracia nostra speciali tenore presencium concedimus et confirmamus prout <54> carte et littere predictae rationabiliter testantur. Preterea volentes prefatis Burgensibus gratiam in hac parte facere vberiore concessimus eisdem Burgensibus et hac carta nostra confirmauimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod licet ipsi vel eorum antecessores sive predecessores aliqua vel aliquibus donacionum concessionum confirmacionum preceptorum <55> libertatum priuilegiolorum franchesiarum quietanciarum immunitatum articulorum et consuetudinum in dictis cartis et litteris contentorum aliquo casu emergente [hactenus vsi] non fuerint, iidem tamen Burgenses et eorum heredes et successores donacionibus concessionibus confirmacionibus preceptis libertatibus priuilegiis franchises quietanciis immunitatibus <56> articulis et consuetudinibus predictis ac quibuscumque a[lii]s in dictis car[tis et] litteris contentis et eorum quolibet decetero tam per terram quam per aquam plene gaudeant et vtantur imperpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum

nostrorum Iusticiariorum Escaetorum Vicecomitum Coronatorum aut aliorum Balliuorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum quorumcumque <57> [H]iis testibus venerabilibus patribus Th[oma] Cantuariensi tocius Anglie Primate • et [Ricardo Eboracensi] Anglie Primate • Archiepiscopis • R[oberto] Londoniensi • W[illelmo] Wyntoniensi • H[enrico] Lincolnensi • E[dmundo] Exoniensi • Episcopis • Edmundo duce Eboraci auunculo nostro carissimo • Th[oma] Warr[wick] • Henr[ico] Northumbrie • Radulpho Westmoreland' • Comitibus • Iohanne de Scarle clerico Cancellario • Iohanne Norbury Th[esaurario] nostris • Willelmo Roos de Hamelak • Iohanne Grey de Codenore • <58> R[eginaldo] Grey de Ruthyn' • Thoma Rempston' Senescallo hospicii nostri • militibus • M[agistro] Ricardo Clifford Custode [pri]uati sigilli nostri • et aliis • datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium decimo septimo die Februarii Anno regni nostri secundo

Gaunstede

pro viginti et quinque marcis solutis in hanaperio

Examinata per Simonem Gaunstede et Iohannem Mapilton clericos.

12th January, 1 Henry V (1414)

Charter (Inspeximus), with clause licet, reciting and confirming that of 17th February, 2 Henry IV (1401) [supra, pp. 100-2]. It also contains an Inspeximus (printed below) of the confirmation by Henry IV of an indenture made between his queen, Joanna, and John Fysshier, Mayor, and the Commonalty of Bristol, on 20th November, 1408. The Indenture sets forth that, on 4th June, 1403, Henry IV had granted to Queen Joanna for the duration of her life the lands and tenements, including the Flesh Shambles, in Bristol, worth £20 per annum, which had formerly been held by Queen Anne, together with the ferm of the town, viz. £100 per annum, which the Mayor and Commonalty owed to the king. On 18th February, 1396, Richard II had granted the Mayor and Commonalty the privilege of farming the town from Michaelmas of that year for a period of ten years; and Henry IV had granted the reversion of the town to Queen Joanna, with all the profits arising therefrom, after the completion of this term. Further, by Letters Patent of 26th June, 1403, he had granted to Queen Joanna certain rights, privileges and franchises (specified) in all her dower lands, and those lands which she held for the term of her life. The Queen gives these lands, tenements and rights and the

profits arising therefrom in Bristol to the Mayor and Commonalty to farm (the Castle and its ditch, and also escheats, and the patronage and advowson of St. Augustine's Abbey being excepted) for the duration of her lifetime. The farm amounts to £182 7s. 10d., which includes payments of £14 10s. to the Abbot of Tewkesbury, 60s. to the Prior of St. James's, Bristol, £39 14s. 6d. to the Constable of Bristol Castle and his officers (viz. the Janitor and Watchmen of the Castle, and the Forester of Kingswood), and 26s. 8d. to the Custos Maritimi of Bristol, which sums had formerly been allocated to them out of the farm of the town. In the event of default of payment the Queen reserved the right of distraint.

Text from the original charter preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01216), consisting of four membranes measuring 38 × 24 in. The Great Seal in green wax on red and yellow silk cords, which have been cut, is reattached to the folded bottom margin. All four membranes have suffered damage, and the bottom half of the inmost membrane is badly rubbed. It is, however, possible to read the greater part of the charter. Lacunae have been supplied from the copy in the Little Red Book. The initial of the king's name in the address is decorated with a scroll design and a crown of fleurs-de-lis bearing the word Soueran' in darker ink. The first line of each of the four membranes is decorated with a design of heart-shaped leaves.

Endorsements: Irrotulatur in memorandis Scacarii de Anno Secundo Regis Henrici Quinti inter Recorda de termino sancti Michaelis ex parte Rememoratoris Thesaurarii.

Confirmacio H . . . [the remainder is illegible].

C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, 466. There is a transcript of the original Charter of 17th February, 2 Henry IV (1401) in the Little Red Book (C.T.'s Dept.: 04718), which is printed in Bickley's edition, vol. i, p. 155; and a transcript from the Charter Roll in C.T.'s Dept.: 04383(1), pp. 113-142. Latimer, Calendar, 96-97.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Ducibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis; salutem Inspeximus cartam domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie patris nostri factam in hec verba Henricus dei gracia etc. [Here follows the charter of 17th February, 2 Henry IV (1401), supra, pp. 100-2. It then continues on membrane 3 at line 60:—] Inspeximus eciam quasdam litteras patnetes predicti patris nostri similiter factas in hec verba (61) Henricus dei

gracia Rex Anglie Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem Inspeximus alteram partem cuiusdam indenture inter carissimam Consortem nostram Iohannam Reginam Anglie ex parte vna et Iohannem Fyssher Maiorem ville Bristoll' ac Communitatem eiusdem ville et successores suos ad vitam ipsius Consortis nostre ex parte altera facte in hec verba Iohanna <62> dei gracia Regina Anglie et Francie [et Domina Hibernie] Omnibus [ad quos] presentes littere indentate peruenerint salutem Cum metuendissimus dominus meus rex per litteras suas patentes quarto die Iunii Anno regni sui quarto inter alia nobis concessit omnia illa terras et tenementa et les Fleshamells que fuerunt Anne nuper Regine Anglie in villa Bristoll' in valorem viginti librarum per annum ac firmam Centum librarum per annum <63> de villa Bristoll' cum domibus [shopis cotagiis] Celdis toftis gard[inis molendi]nis stagnis Tyna Castri redditibus langabil[is] theoloniis placitis Curiis feriis Mercatis et omnibus aliis iurisdictionibus consuetudinibus et pertinenciis ville predictae et suburbiorum] eiusdem quam Maior et Communitas eiusdem ville predicto metuendissimo domino meo Regi et heredibus suis annuatim reddere tenebantur pro eadem villa quam villam dominus <64> Ricardus nuper Rex Anglie [secundus post] conquestum [decimo oct]tauo die Februarii anno regni sui decimo octauo per litteras suas patentes [commisit] siue concessit prefatis Maiori et Communitati habendam et tenendam sibi et successoribus suis a festo sancti Michelis tunc proxime preterito vsque [ad] finem duodecim annorum extunc proxime sequencium et plenarie complendorum Reddendo inde annuatim prefato nuper Regi Centum libras ad terminos Pasche et sancti Michelis <65> per equales porciones ac [reuersionem ville predictae] cum omnibus shopis Cotag[iis celdis] toftis gardinis molendinis stagnis T[yna castri redditibus] langabil[is] theoloniis placitis Curiis feriis Mercatis et omnibus aliis iurisdictionibus consuetudinibus et pertinenciis ville predictae et suburbiorum eiusdem cum pertinenciis post predictum terminum duodecim annorum cum acciderit Habendam et tenendam nobis in valorem predictam vna cum reuersione omnium terrarum et tenementorum [*End of membrane 3*]

infra procinctum ville predictae quorumcumque tenencium ad terminum vite vel annorum per prefatum dominum meum Regem seu aliquem progenitorum suorum quondam Regum Anglie vel alios quoscumque concessorum vel commissorum vnde reuersio ad eundem metuendissimum dominum meum Regem tempore istius concessionis reuerteret vna cum firmis redditibus inde reseruatis

prout in litteris predictis nobis inde factis plenius (2) continetur Ac nos virtute concessionis predictae predictam villam Bristoll' vna cum muris portis et fossatis eiusdem ville et suburb[iorum] eiusdem vna cum omnibus eidem metuendissimo domino meo infra procinctum et metas eiusdem ville quoquo modo pertinentibus sive spectantibus hactenus a tempore concessionum predictarum obtinimus et optinemus in presenti Ac postmodum idem metuendissimus dominus meus Rex per alias (3) litteras suas patentes vicesimo sexto die Iunii Anno regni sui quarto nobis concessit pro se et heredibus suis quod nos ad totam vitam nostram habeamus libertates et priuilegia subscripta in omnibus et singulis Castris dominiis Maneriis villis terris et tenementis necnon in singulis aliis locis nobis per ipsum metuendissimum dominum meum Regem in dotem seu alias ad terminum vite nostre assignatis ac in locis vbi annue firme nobis per ipsum (4) metuendissimum dominum meum Regem in dotem seu alias ad terminum vite nostre assignantur videlicet quod nos habeamus ad totam vitam nostram omnia fines redempciones et amerciamenta hominum et tenencium in et de Castris dominiis Maneriis villis terris et tenementis necnon in singulis aliis locis predictis nobis per prefatum metuendissimum dominum meum Regem vt predictum est assignatis necnon exitus forisfactos et omnia que ad ipsum (5) metuendissimum dominum meum Regem et heredes suos pertinere poterunt de anno die et vasto forisfacturis et murdris in quibuscumque Curiis suis et heredum suorum homines et tenentes illos tam coram ipso metuendissimo domino meo Rege et heredibus suis in Cancellaria sua et heredum suorum quam coram Thesaurario et Baronibus suis et heredum suorum de scaccario necnon coram Iusticiariis suis et heredum suorum itinerantibus ad communia (6) placita et ad placita foreste et eciam coram Iusticiariis suis et heredum suorum de Banco et eciam Senescallo et Marescallo ac Coronatore hospicii sui et heredum suorum et Clerico de Mercato ac coram aliis Iusticiariis et Ministris suis et heredum suorum quibuscumque fines seu redempciones facere vel amerciari aut huiusmodi exitus murdra forisfacturas annum diem et vastum adiudicari contigerit adeo plene et integre sicut ipse (7) metuendissimus dominus meus Rex ea haberet si predicta Castra dominia maneria villas terras tenementa et loca predicta in manu sua retinuisset Ita quod nos per manus Balliuorum et Ministrorum nostrorum fines redempciones reuersiones et amerciamenta hominum et tenencium predictorum ac exitus forisfactos et omnia que ad ipsum metuendissimum dominum meum Regem et heredes suos pertinere poterunt de ann o

et die et vasto forisfacturis et murdris de et in <8> Castris dominiis Maneriis villis terris et tenementis ac omnibus et singulis locis predictis et eorum feodis que coram Iusticiariis itinerantibus ad communia placita et ad placita foreste ac coram dictis Senescallo et Marescallo Coronatore seu clerico de Mercato fieri et adiudicari contigerit per extractas eorundem Iusticiariorum itinerancium in itineribus suis et Senescalli Marescalli et Coronatoris ac clerici in cessionibus suis eisdem Balliuis et Ministris inde necnon fines redempc- <9>-iones ac amerciamenta hominum et tenencium predictorum ac exitus forisfactos et omnia que ad ipsum metuendissimum dominum meum Regem seu heredes suos pertinere poterunt de anno die et vasto forisfacturis et murdris de et in Castris dominiis Maneriis villis terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis que coram ipso metuendissimo domino meo Rege et heredibus suis vel in Cancellaria sua vel heredum suorum seu coram Thesaurario et Baronibus suis vel heredum <10> suorum de Scaccario seu coram Iusticiariis suis vel heredum suorum de Banco aut Iusticiariis ad assisas capiendas et gaolas deliberandas seu Iusticiariis ad felonias et transgressionem audiendas et terminandas assignatis vel coram aliis Iusticiariis seu Ministris suis vel heredum suorum quibuscumque fieri et adiudicari contigerit per extractas scaccarii sui vel heredum suorum Balliuis et Ministris per manus vicecomitum in quorum Balliuis Castra dominia Maneria ville terre tenementa ac loca <11> predicta existunt inde liberandas leuare percipere et habere possimus sine occasione vel impedimento predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis et heredum suorum aut Balliuorum seu ministrorum suorum quorumcumque Et quod habeamus in omnibus et singulis Castris dominiis Maneriis Villis terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis catalla felonum fugitiuorum vtlagatorum et dampnatorum Ita quod siquis hominum et tenencium predictorum aut alii in Castris dominiis <12> Maneriis villis terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis pro delicto suo vitam vel membrum debeant amittere vel fugerint et iudicio stare noluerint vel aliquid delictum fecerint pro quo catalla sua debeant perdere vbicumque de eis iusticia fieri debeat siue in Curia predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum siue in aliis Curiis ipsa catalla sint nostra Et liceat nobis seu Ministris nostris sine occasione vel impedimento predicti metuendissimi <13> domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum vicecomitum aut aliorum Balliuorum seu ministrorum suorum vel heredum suorum quorumcumque ponere nos in seisinam de catallis predictis et ea ad vsum nostrum retinere Et eciam predictus metuendissimus

dominus meus Rex pro se et heredibus suis volens et concedens nobis quod nos similiter habeamus ad totam vitam nostram in omnibus et singulis Castris dominiis Maneriis villis terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis <14> returna omnium breuium predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis et heredum suorum et summonicionum extractarum et preceptorum de Scaccario predicto necnon preceptorum et extractarum Iusticiariorum predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum itinerancium tam de placitis foreste quam ad omnia placita et aliorum Iusticiariorum quorumcumque et execuciones eorundem breuium summonicionum extractarum et preceptorum per balliuos et ministros suos faciendas Ita quod nullus vicecomes <15> Balliuus aut Minister prefati metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum aliqua Castrorum dominiorum Maneriorum villarum terrarum tenementorum locorum et feodorum predictorum ad officia aliqua seu alia officia sua tangencia facienda ingrediatur nisi in defectu nostro vel balliuorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum Et si vicecomites balliui libertatum hundredorum wapentachorum in ullo Castrorum dominiorum Maneriorum villarum terrarum tenementorum locorum et feodorum predictorum in aliquibus execucionibus pro nobis per breuia siue <16> mandata predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum aut quouis alio modo faciendis negligentes fuerint vel remissi per quod ipsos in scaccario predicti metuendissimi domini Regis seu aliis Curiis suis contigerit amercari vel fines facere quod fines et amerciamenta illa sint nostra ad opus nostrum leuentur Concessit eciam nobis predictus metuendissimus dominus meus Rex quod nos teneamus Castra dominia Maneria villas terras tenementa loca et feoda <17> predicta vnacum feodis Militum aduocacionibus domorum religiosarum et hospitalium ecclesiarum Capellarum wardis maritagiiis et escaetis de omnibus tenentibus residentibus et non residentibus et tam de non integris tenentibus quam integris tenentibus de Castris dominiis Maneriis villis terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis, licet iidem tenentes de predicto metuendissimo domino meo Rege alibi teneant in capite vt de Corona vel alio modo simul cum forestis <18> chaciis parcis boscis warennis feriis mercatis aquis ripariis viis piscariis communis assertis vastis et purpresturis aceciam arentacionibus et redditibus quorumcumque assertorum vastorum et purpresturarum tam temporibus progenitorum predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis quondam Regum Anglie quam predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis in forestis parcis chaceis et aliis locis predictis arentatorum et exnunc arentandorum

vna cum finibus pro ingressu <19> huiusmodi assertorum vastorum et purpresturarum sic arentandorum et cum Curiis visibus franciplegii hundredis wapentachiis wreck et wayf piscibus regalibus libertatibus regalibus et liberis consuetudinibus ac omnibus aliis ad Castra dominia Maneria villas terras tenementa loca et feoda predicta qualitercumque et vbicumque spectantibus siue pertinentibus Et quod nos habeamus per breuia predicti domini mei Regis et heredum suorum Iusticiarios quos nos duxerimus nominandos ad itinerandum ad placita foreste in omnibus <20> forestis predictis quociens opus fuerit et nobis viderit expedire Et eciam quod nos habeamus omnes fines redempciones exitus forisfactos amerciamenta forisfacturas et reversiones et alia proficua quecumque in itineribus predictis seu ratione eorundem itinerum tam pro transgressionibus de viridi et venacione quam pro delicto et causis aliis quibuscumque qualitercumque proueniencia seu emergencia Ita quod nos habeamus per manus balliuorum et ministrorum nostrorum fines redempciones exitus forisfactos <21> amerciamenta forisfacturas et alia proficua predicta de illis qui de et in Castris dominiis Maneriis villis terris tenementis et aliis locis et feodis predictis fuerint per extractas eorundem Iusticiariorum itinerancium in itineribus suis eisdem balliuis et Ministris inde liberandas leuare percipere et habere possimus et omnes fines redempciones exitus forisfactos amerciamenta forisfacturas et alia proficua predicta de illis qui non fuerint de et in Castris dominiis Maneriis villis terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis habeamus et <22> percipiamus ad Scaccarium dicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis et heredum suorum per manus vicecomitum et balliuorum libertatum in quorum balliuis fuerint sicut predictus dominus meus Rex et heredes sui ea perciperent si ad ipsum metuendissimum dominum meum Regem vel heredes suos pertinerent sine occasione vel impedimento predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum vel Balliuorum seu Ministrorum suorum quorumcumque Et eciam quod nos habeamus et teneamus Castra <23> dominia Maneria villas terras tenementa loca et feoda predicta cum feodis militum aduocationibus ecclesiarum ac franchisesiis et libertatibus eisdem qualitercumque spectantibus siue pertinentibus vna cum finibus redempcionibus exitibus amerciamentis catallis vtlagatorum escaetis forisfacturis deodandis et omnibus aliis proficuis et emolumentis de omnibus tenentibus residentibus et non residentibus et tam de non integris tenentibus quam integris et aliis personis quibuscumque ac de omnibus <24> aliis rebus tam finibus et amerciamentis de viridi et venacione infra forestam et

extra ex quacumque causa coram quibuscumque Iusticiariis suis seu Ministris suis vicecomitibus Senescallis balliuis aut aliis Ministris quibuscumque in suis sessionibus adiudicatis seu adiudicandis aceciam omnia proficua et emolumenta de eisdem tenentibus et residentibus tam de punicione de falso iudicio in quacumque Curia reddito quam in quacumque Curia adnullato seu adnullando necnon <25> omnia alia proficua thesauros inventos et emolumenta quocumque modo eueniunt tam de forestis parcis boscis chaceis warennis stagnis viuariis Marescis Moris mineris wrecko maris videlicet wrecko regali et de quacumque alia re quocumque modo fuerit quam quibusdam aliis rebus que infra Castra dominia Maneria villas terras tenementa loca et feoda predicta accidere poterunt quouis modo adeo integre sicut in manibus predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis fuissent <26> aliqua prerogatiua priuilegio vel franchisesia non obstante prout in eisdem litteris de libertatibus et priuilegiis nobis inde confectis plenius continentur. Sciatis nos ex licencia metuendissimi domini mei Regis dimisisse et concessisse Iohanni Fisser Maiori ville Bristoll' ac Communitati eiusdem ville et successoribus suis ad totam vitam nostram predictam villam Bristoll' cum suburbiis eiusdem cum portis fossis et muris ac omnia alia predicta terras et tenementa cum les Flesshamelles <27> in eadem villa cum domibus shopis cotagiis Celdis toftis gardinis molendinis stagnis Tyna Castri redditibus langabilis theloniis placitis Curis et omnibus aliis iurisdiccionibus consuetudinibus et pertinenciis ville predictae et suburbiorum eiusdem cum pertinenciis ac omnia et singula libertates priuilegia et franchisesias suprascripta et eciam subscripta in villa predicta Bristoll' et suburbiis eiusdem necnon in omnibus et singulis locis infra procinctum eiusdem villa emergencia siue <28> accidentia Castro et fossato eiusdem Castri exceptis preter cursum aque decurrentis in predictis fossatis versus molendinum subtus Castrum sicut ex antiquo consueuit cum ripis eiusdem aque per spatium quatuor pedum in latitudine versus Castrum predictum videlicet quod predicti Maior et Communitas ville predictae Bristoll' et successores sui habeant ad totam vitam nostram omnia fines redemptiones et amerciamenta omnium hominum et tenencium in et de dominiis Maneriis terris <29> et tenementis ac in singulis locis infra procinctum eiusdem ville Bristoll' existentibus per prefatum metuendissimum dominum meum Regem nobis concessa et assignata Castro et fossato eiusdem Castri exceptis, vt predictum est necnon exitus forisfactos et omnia que ad ipsum metuendissimum dominum meum Regem et heredes suos et ad nos ad totam vitam

nostram virtute concessionis predictæ dicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis nobis factæ infra villam Bristoll' et procinctum eiusdem pertinere <30> poterunt de anno die et vasto forisfacturis et murdris in quibuscumque Curiis suis et heredum suorum omnium hominum et tenentium illorum tam coram ipso metuendissimo domino meo Rege et heredibus suis in Cancellaria sua et heredum suorum quam coram Thesaurario et Baronibus suis et heredum suorum de Scaccario necnon coram Iusticiariis suis et heredum suorum itinerantibus ad communia placita et ad placita foreste et eciam coram Iusticiariis suis et heredum suorum de Banco et eciam Senescallo Marescallo <31> ac Coronatore hospicii sui et heredum suorum et clerico de Mercato ac coram aliis Iusticiariis et Ministris suis et heredum suorum quibuscumque fines seu redemptiones facere vel amerciari aut huiusmodi exitus murdra seu forisfacturas annum diem et vastum adiudicari contigerit adeo plene et integre sicut ipse metuendissimus dominus meus Rex ea haberet si predicta dominia Maneria villas terras tenementa et loca predicta infra procinctum eiusdem ville in manu sua retinuisset Aceciam sicut nos ea <32> haberemus virtute concessionum predictarum predicti domini mei Regis nobis factarum si eadem libertates et priuilegia in manu nostra retinuissemus Castro et fossato eiusdem exceptis Ita quod ipsi Maior et Communitas eiusdem ville et successores sui ad totam vitam nostram per manus balliuorum et Ministrorum suorum fines redemptiones reuersiones et amerciamenta omnium hominum et tenencium predictorum infra procinctum ville Bristoll' vt predictum est ac exitus forisfactos et omnia que ad ipsum metuendissimum dominum meum <33> Regem et heredes suos vel ad nos durante vita nostra virtute concessionum predictarum pertinere poterunt de anno die et vasto forisfacturis et murdris de et in dominiis Maneriis terris tenementis ac omnibus et singulis locis predictis et eorum feodis infra procinctum ville Bristoll' existentibus Castro et fossato eiusdem Castri exceptis que coram Iusticiariis itinerantibus ad omnia placita et placita foreste ac coram dictis Senescallo et Marescallo Coronatore seu clerico fieri et adiudicari contigerit per extractas eorundem <34> Iusticiariorum itinerancium in itineribus suis Senescalli et Marescalli et Coronatoris ac clerici in cessionibus suis eisdem balliuis et Ministris eorundem Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum ad totam vitam nostram inde necnon fines redemptiones et amerciamenta omnium hominum et tenencium predictorum infra villam Bristoll' et suburbia eiusdem ville existencium ac exitus forisfactos et omnia que ad ipsum metuendissimum

dominum meum Regem seu heredes suos vel ad nos virtute concessionum predictarum (35) durante vita nostra pertinere poterunt de anno die et vasto forisfacturis et murdris de et in dominiis Maneriis terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis infra villam Bristoll' et procinctum eiusdem que coram ipso metuendissimo domino meo Rege et heredibus suis vel in Cancellaria sua vel heredum suorum seu coram Thesaurario et Baronibus suis vel heredum suorum de Scaccario seu coram Iusticiariis suis vel heredum suorum de Banco aut Iusticiariis ad assisas capiendas et gaolas deliberandas seu Iusticiariis (36) ad felonias et transgressiones audiendas et terminandas assignatis vel coram aliis Iusticiariis seu ministris suis vel heredum suorum quibuscumque fieri et adiudicari contigerit per extractas scaccarii sui vel heredum suorum balliuis et Ministris eorundem Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum ad totam vitam nostram per manus vicecomitis Comitatus ville Bristoll' et successorum suorum vicecomitum eiusdem ville pro tempore existentium in quorum balliuis dominia Maneria terre tenementa ac loca et feoda predicta existunt (37) inde liberandas leuare percipere et habere possunt sine occasione vel impedimento predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis et heredum suorum aut nostri aut balliuorum seu Ministrorum suorum aut nostrorum quorumcumque. Et quod ipsi Maior et Communitas et successores sui durante vita nostra habeant in omnibus et singulis dominiis Maneriis terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis infra villam Bristoll' et procinctum eiusdem ville Castro et fossato eiusdem Castri exceptis catalla felonum fugitivorum utlagatorum et (38) dampnatorum Ita quod si quis omnium hominum et tenencium predictorum aut alii in dominiis Maneriis terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis infra villam Bristoll' et procinctum eiusdem ville Castro et fossato eiusdem Castri exceptis pro delicto suo vitam vel membrum debeant amittere vel fugerint et iudicio stare noluerint vel aliquod delictum fecerint pro quo catalla sua debeant perdere vbicumque de eis iusticia fieri debeat siue in curia predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum (39) suorum vel nostri siue in aliis Curiis ipsa catalla sint ipsorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum durante vita nostra. Et liceat Ministris ipsorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum durante vita nostra sine occasione vel impedimento predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis et heredum suorum vel nostri vicecomitum aut aliorum balliuorum seu ministrorum suorum vel heredum suorum quorumcumque vel nostrorum ponere ipsos Maiorem et Communitatem et

successores suos durante vita nostra in seisinam <40> de catallis predictis et ea ad vsum suum retinere Et eciam quod predicti Maior et Communitas et successores sui habeant ad totam vitam nostram in dicta villa Bristoll' et suburbiis eiusdem necnon in omnibus terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis infra procinctum eiusdem ville existentibus Castro et fossato eiusdem Castri superius exceptis returna omnium breuium predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis et heredum suorum ac summonicionum extractarum et preceptorum de scaccario predicto necnon extractarum et preceptorum <41> Iusticiariorum predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum itinerancium tam de placitis foreste quam ad omnia placita et aliorum Iusticiariorum quorumcumque et execuciones eorundem breuium summonicionum extractarum et preceptorum per balliuos et Ministros suos faciendas Ita quod nullus vicecomes balliuus aut Minister prefati metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum aut nostrorum aliqua terrarum tenementorum locorum et feodorum predictorum infra villam Bristoll' et procinctum eiusdem ad officia aliqua aut alia <42> officia sua tangencia facienda ingrediantur nisi in defectu ipsorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum Et si vicecomes balliui libertatis hundredi wapentachii in villa Bristoll' et suburbiis eiusdem vel aliis locis et feodis predictae ville et procinctus eiusdem Castro et fossato eiusdem Castri exceptis in aliquibus execucionibus pro ipsis Maiore et Communitate et successoribus suis ad totam vitam nostram per breuia siue mandata predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum aut <43> quouis alio modo faciendis negligentes fuerint vel remissi per quod ipsos in scaccario predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum vel aliis Curjiis predicti domini mei Regis contigerit ameriari vel fines facere quod fines et ameriamenta illa sint ipsorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum ad totam vitam nostram et ad opus suum leuentur Et quod iidem Maior et Communitas et successores sui teneant predictam villam Bristoll' cum suburbiis eiusdem tenementa loca et feoda <44> predicta quecumque infra procinctum eiusdem ville vna cum feodis militum aduocacionibus domorum religiosarum hospitalium ecclesiarum capellarum wardis maritagii de omnibus tenentibus residentibus et non residentibus tam de non integris tenentibus quam integris de predicta villa Bristoll' et suburbiis eiusdem terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis omnibus et singulis infra procinctum ville predictae vt predictum est licet iidem tenentes de metuendissimo domino meo Rege alibi teneant

in capite vt de Corona <45> vel alio modo simul cum boscis warennis feriis mercatis aquis ripariis viis piscariis communiis assertis vastis et purpresturis ac eciam arentacionibus et redditibus quorumcumque assertorum vastorum et purpresturarum tam temporibus progenitorum predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis quondam Regum Anglie quam metuendissimi domini mei Regis in omnibus locis predictis infra procinctum eiusdem ville Bristoll' vt predictum est arentatorum et exnunc arentandorum vnacum finibus <46> pro ingressu huiusmodi assertorum vastorum et purpresturarum sic arentatorum seu arentandorum et cum Curiis visibus franciplegii hundredis wapentachiis wreke et wayf piscibus regalibus et aliis consuetudinibus ac omnibus aliis ad dictam villam Bristoll' et suburbia eiusdem terras tenementa loca et feoda predicta infra procinctum ville predictae Bristoll' proueniencibus siue accidencibus cum omnibus ad ea qualitercumque et vbicumque vt predictum est pertinencibus Et eciam quod iidem Maior et Communitas et successores <47> sui habeant durante vita nostra omnia fines redempciones exitus forisfactos amerciamenta forisfacturas et alia proficua quecumque in itineribus de foresta seu racione eorundem itinerum tam pro transgressionibus de viridi et venacione quam pro delicto et causis aliis quibuscumque qualitercumque proueniencia seu emergencia in villa predicta Bristoll' necnon in omnibus et singulis locis et feodis infra procinctum eiusdem ville vt predictum est Ita quod iidem Maior et Communitas et successores sui durante vita nostra <48> habeant per manus Balliuorum et Ministrorum suorum fines redempciones exitus forisfactos amerciamenta forisfacturas et alia proficua predicta de illis qui in et de villa Bristoll' et suburbiis eiusdem Maneriis terris tenementis et aliis locis et feodis predictis infra procinctum ville predictae fuerint Castro et fossato eiusdem castri exceptis per extractas Iusticiariorum itinerancium de forestis et aliorum Iusticiariorum itinerancium metuendissimi domini mei Regis et heredum suorum in itineribus suis eisdem balliuis et Ministris dictorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum ad totam vitam nostram inde [liberandas leuare percipere] <49> et habere possunt et omnes fines redempciones exitus forisfactos amerciamenta forisfacturas et alia proficua predicta de illis qui fuerint de et in dicta villa Bristoll' et suburbiis eiusdem vt predictum est necnon dominiis Maneriis terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis infra procinctum eiusdem ville Bristoll' et suburbia eiusdem vt predictum est habeant et percipiant ad scaccarium predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis et heredum suorum per manus vicecomitis et

balliuorum libertatum in quorum balliuis fuerint sicut predictus metuendissimus dominus meus Rex et heredes sui perciperent si ad ipsum (50) metuendissimum dominum meum Regem et heredes suos pertinere poterunt sine occasione vel impedimento predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis vel heredum suorum vel balliuorum seu Ministrorum suorum aut nostrorum quorumcumque si ea in manu sua retinisset vel nos ea virtute concessionum predictarum predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis retinuissemus Et etiam quod predicti Maior et Communitas et successores sui durante vita nostra habeant et teneant predictam villam Bristoll' cum suburbii eiusdem dominia Maneria terras tenementa loca et feoda predicta necnon (51) omnia alia loca quecumque et feoda predicta cum feodis Militum aduocationibus ecclesiarum ac franchesiis et libertatibus eisdem qualitercumque spectantibus siue pertinencibus vna cum finibus redempcionibus exitibus et amerciamentis catallis vtlagatorum et fugitiuorum escaetis forisfacturis deodandis et omnibus aliis proficuis quibuscumque infra procinctum ville predictae Bristoll' vt predictum est ac de omnibus aliis rebus tam finibus et amerciamentis de viridi et venacione infra forestam et extra ex quacumque causa coram quibuscumque Iusticiariis predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis (52) et heredum suorum seu Ministris vicecomitibus Senescallis balliuis aut aliis Ministris quibuscumque in suis cessionibus adiudicatis seu adiudicandis aceciam omnia proficua et emolumenta de eisdem tenentibus et residentibus tam de punicione de falso iudicio in quacumque Curia [reddito] quam in quacumque C[ur]ia adnullato seu ad]nullando necnon omnia alia [proficua thesau]ros inuentos et emolumenta quocumque modo eueniunt tam de forestis parcis boscis chaciis warennis stagnis viuariis mariscis moris Mineris wrecko maris videlicet wrecko (53) regali et de quacumque alia re quocumque modo fuerit quam quibuscumque aliis rebus que infram villam predictam Bristoll' dominia maneria terras tenementa loca et feoda predicta infra procinctum eiusdem ville Bristoll' vt predictum est accidere [poterunt quouism]odo adeo integre sicut [in manibus predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis fuissent aliqua prerogativa] priuilegio seu franchisesia non obstante prout in litteris de libertatibus et priuilegiis predictis nobis per predictum metuendissimum dominum meum Regem concessis plenius continetur Castro Bristollie et fossato eiusdem (54) Castri quibuscumque escaetis terrarum et tenementorum futuris temporibus euenientibus aduocatione ac patronatu Abbacie Sancti Augustini Bristoll' vt predictum est omnino exceptis Et quod iidem

Maiores et Communitas et successores sui durante vita nostra habeant predictam villam Bristoll' cum suburbiis eiusdem necnon Maneria dominia feoda et loca quecumque infra procinctum ville predictae Bristoll' cum pertinentiis vt [predictum] est que eidem metuendissimo domino meo Regi pertinere (55) debuissent si in manu sua propria retinisset et ea nobis non concessisset Et quod iidem Maiores et communitas et successores sui habeant durante vita nostra omnia priuilegia libertates et emolumenta seu proficua iura et commoditates infra procinctum predictae ville Bristoll' et omnia quecumque emergentia seu eis pertinentia de omnibus hominibus tenentibus et residentibus et non residentibus integris tenentibus siue non integris que idem metuendissimus dominus meus Rex per (56) quascumque litteras suas patentes nobis concesserit adeo plene et integre sicut ea in manu sua propria retinisset vel etiam ea nos haberemus si [in manu nostra] virtute concessionum predictarum predicti metuendissimi domini mei Regis retinuissemus cum omnibus proficuis et iuribus eis pertinentibus sive spectantibus quoquo modo cum pertinentiis Castro et fossato eiusdem castri quibuscumque escaetis terrarum et tenementorum [futuris temporibus euenientibus] (57) ac aduocatione seu patronatu Abbacie Sancti Augustini Bristoll' omnino exceptis Habenda et tenenda omnia predicta villam Bristoll' terras tenementa et les Flesshamelles in eadem villa cum domibus shopis Cotagiis Celdis gardinis molendinis stagnis tyna Castri redditibus langabilis placitis Curiis feriis mercatis reuersionibus de omnibus tenentibus ad terminum vite vel annorum et omnibus aliis iurisdiccionibus consuetudinibus et pertinentiis ville predictae et suburbiorum eiusdem cum pertinentiis (58) prefatis Maiori et Communitati ville Bristoll' et successoribus suis ac omnia et singula libertates et priuilegia et franchisesias supradicta infra villam predictam Bristoll' suburbia ac procinctum eiusdem ville a festo sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito ad totam vitam nostram adeo plene libere et quiete et integre sicut predictus metuendissimus dominus meus Rex ea haberet si ea in manu sua retinisset vel ea nos haberemus si in manu nostra retinu- (59) -issemus virtute concessionum predictarum domini mei Regis nobis concessarum exceptis preexceptis Reddendo inde nobis annuatim ad terminum vite nostre pro omnibus supradictis et forinsecis oneribus Centum quaterviginti et duas libras septem solidos et decem denarios Ita quod iidem Maiores et Communitas et successores sui exonerentur annuatim ad totam vitam nostram per nos de forinsecis oneribus diuersis personis debitis et dudum eis allocatis de firma predicta videlicet [Abbati] (60) de Teukesbury de

quatuordecim libris et decem solidis Priori sancti Iacobi Bristoll' sexaginta solidis Constabulario Castri Bristoll' et Ministris suis pro tempore existentibus videlicet Ianitori et vigilatoribus dicti Castri et forestario de Kyngeswode de triginta et novem libris quatuordecim solidis et sex denariis ac Custodi maritimi Bristoll' viginti et sex solidis et octo denariis Soluendos ad Receptam [nostram] apud Westmonasterium ad festa Pasche et [sancti Michaelis] <61> per equales porciones. Et si predictus annuus redditus ciiij^{xxij} li. vij s. x d. aretro fuerit in parte vel in toto post aliquem terminorum predictorum non solutus quod tunc bene liceat nobis in predictam villam Bristoll' et in omnibus terris et tenementis et les Flesshamelles in eadem villa et eciam in domibus shopis cotagiis Celdis toftis gardinis molendinis stagnis tyna Castri redditibus et suburbis eiusdem ville cum pertinenciis ac procinctu eiusdem [ville distringere] <62> et districciones inde captas retinere abducere et asportare quousque nobis de predicto annuo redditu ciiij^{xxij} li. vij s. x d. et de arreragiis eiusdem si que fuerint plenarie fuerit satisfactum In cuius rei testimonium vni parti huius indenture penes predictos Maiorem et Communitatem remanenti sigillum nostrum est appensum Alteri vero parti eiusdem indenture penes nos remanenti sigillum commune ville predictae vn[acum si] gillo Maioris eiusdem <63> ville est appensum Data apud Westmonasterium vicesimo die Nouembris anno regni metuendissimi domini mei Regis decimo Nos autem indenturam predictam et omnia contentata in eadem rata habentes et grata ea pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est acceptamus approbamus et prefatis Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis tenore presentium concedimus et confirmamus prout indentura predicta racionabiliter testatur In cuius <64> rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium octauo die Februarii Anno regni nostri decimo¹ Nos autem donaciones confirmaciones precepta perambulacionem libertates priuilegia franchises quietancias immunitates articulos et consuetudines predicta ac omnia et singula in dictis cartis et litteris contenta explanata et specificata rata habentes et grata ea pro nobis et heredibus <65> nostris quantum in nobis est acceptamus approbamus et prefatis Burgensibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus imperpetuum de gracia nostra speciali tenore presentium concedimus et confirmamus prout carte et littere predictae

¹ *Pro centum solidis solutis in hanaperio.* A bond of the Mayor and Commonalty for the observance of these conditions is to be found in the Little Red Book (Bickley ed., vol. i, pp. 171-173).

racionabiliter testantur Preterea volentes prefatis Burgensibus gratiam in hac parte facere ampliorem concessimus eisdem Burgensibus et hac carta nostra confirmauimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod licet ipsi vel eorum antecessores (66) siue predecessores aliqua vel aliquibus donacionum concessionum confirmationum preceptorum libertatum priuilegiorum franchisesiarum quietanciarum immunitatum articulorum et consuetudinum in dictis cartis et litteris contentorum aliquo casu emergente hactenus vsi non fuerunt iidem tamen Burgenses et eorum heredes et successores donacionibus concessionibus confirmationibus preceptis libertatibus priuilegiis franchisesiis quietanciis immunitatibus (67) articulis et consuetudinibus predictis ac quibuscumque aliis in dictis cartis et litteris contentis et eorum quolibet decetero tam per terram quam per aquam plene gaudeant et Vtuntur perpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum Iusticiariorum Escaetorum Vicecomitum Coronatorum aut aliorum Balliuorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum quorumcumque. Hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus Th[oma] Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo tocius (68) Anglie Primate Consanguineo nostro carissimo • H[enrico] Wyntoniensi Auunculo nostro carissimo Cancellario nostro • Th[oma] Dunelmensi • N[ichola] Bathoniensi et Wellensi • et H[enrico] Menenensi • Episcopis • Carissimo fratre nostro Thoma Clarencie • Carissimo Consanguineo nostro Edwardo Eboraci • Ducibus • Thoma Arundell' Thesaurario nostro • Ricardo Warr[wick] • consanguineis nostris carissimis Comitibus • Henrico Fitz Hugh' Camerario nostro • Thoma de Erpyngham Senescallo Hospicii (69) nostri • Militibus • Magistro Iohanne Prophete Custode priuati sigilli nostri • et aliis • Data per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium duodecimo die Ianuarii Anno regni nostri primo

Robroke

pro quinquaginta marcis solutis in hanaperio

Examinata per Simonem Gaunstede et Willelmum Robroke clericos

19th July, 2 Henry VI (1424)

Letters Patent (Inspeximus) reciting and confirming the Charter of 12th January, 1 Henry V (1414) [supra, pp. 103ff]. There is note of warranty "per breue de priuato sigillo," and the Chancery scribe is Morpath. The folded bottom margin has on it the official

memorandum "Examine per Iohannem Mapilton et Nich[ola]m Wymbyssh clericos."

The original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01217) consist of four membranes measuring 36 × 20 in., of which the outer and the third are rubbed in parts, and have suffered from damp. The Great Seal (fragment) in green wax is attached to the folded bottom margin of the inmost membrane by red and green silk cords braided through holes in the usual manner. A blank space has been left for the initial of the king's name.

Endorsement: *Confirmac' dni' H.vj^{to}*.

C.P.R. 1422-29, 222. There is a transcript from the Patent Roll in C.T.'s Dept.: 04383(1), pp. 143-175. Latimer, *Calendar*, 98.

1st June, 4 Henry VI (1426)

Letters Patent: *Exemplification*, at the request of the Burgesses of Bristol, of a Petition presented on their behalf in Parliament, and of its Endorsement. The Petition sets forth the creation of the County of Bristol by Edward III, and the provision that the representatives of the Borough be summoned to Parliament both as Burgesses and as Knights of the Shire. The writ issued to the Sheriff for the election of representatives to the present Parliament referred only to Burgesses, and, contrary to the franchises and liberties of the Borough and County of Bristol, their status as Knights of the Shire was not mentioned. In consequence, the representatives of Bristol, namely Henry Gildeney and John Langley,¹ have appeared in Parliament as Burgesses only, and are unable to appear and respond as Knights of the Shire, to the detriment of the franchises and liberties of the burgesses, inhabitants of the County of Bristol. It is requested that in future writs be issued to the Sheriff for the election of the representatives of Bristol both as Burgesses and as Knights of the Shire, according to the liberties and franchises aforesaid; and that the issue of the present writ, and the consequent appearance of the representatives of Bristol in Parliament as Burgesses only, shall not prejudice the liberties and franchises of the Town and County of Bristol. The Endorsement states that the King, by the advice of the Lords Spiritual

¹ Ricart, *Calendar*, 38, gives Henry Gildeney as one of the Bailiffs of Bristol in 1420, and as Sheriff in 1429; and John Langley as one of the Bailiffs in 1419.

and Temporal in the present Parliament, wills and grants that the writ mentioned in the Petition, and the appearance thereupon in the present Parliament of the representatives of Bristol as Burgesses only, contrary to their chartered rights, shall not be held to the prejudice of the Burgesses of Bristol.

Text from the original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01253 (1)), consisting of a single membrane measuring $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in., to which the Great Seal in red wax is attached by a parchment strip passed through a slit in the folded bottom margin.

Endorsements: An exemplificacon' made by King Harry the . . . ¹ of a peticion' grauntid in a parliament that the two burgesses for the same parliament Somened bi the Shiref by vertue of the kinges Writte . and be admitted aswell for knyghtes of the Shire as for burgeis.

Rolls of Parliament, iv (1413-37), p. 315; Latimer, Calendar, 100-101. There is a transcript from the Parliament Roll in C.T.'s Dept.: 04383(1), pp. 103-104.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint, salutem Inspeximus quandam petitionem nobis per Communitatem <2> regni nostri Anglie in presenti parlamento nostro existentem pro Burgensibus Ville Bristoll' exhibitam in hec verba Priouint les Communes de cest present parlement de considerer coment le <3> Roi Edward tierce progenitour notre seigneur le Roi qorest par ses lettres patentes del date de septisme iour Daust lan du regne le dit Roi Edward quaraunt septisme graunta et <4> conferma por lui et ses heirs a les Burgeis de Bristuit lour heirs et successors que la Ville de Bristuit oue les suburbes et preceynt dicelles selonc les fynes et boundes sur <5> certain auctorite ent donc limitez qele ville suburbes et preceynt furent assiz parcelle en le Counte de Gloucestr' et parcelle en le counte de Somerset serrount seurez et <6> exemptz des ditz Countees par terre et eawe et qil serra Counte par soy et nosme le Counte de Bristuit, et que la dite ville ne serra charge demaunder a les parlementz <7> du dit Roi Edward ou ses heirs sinon deux hommes les queux come Chualers del Countee de Bristuit sibien come Burgeis des ville et Burgh de Bristuit por mesmes <8> les Counte ville et Burgh en icelles parlementz serront tenuz de respoudre et la quelle chartre oue toutz les grauntz et

¹ Blank in MS.

libertees en icelle contenuz en le parlement le dit Roi <9> Edward tenuz a Westminster lendemain de saint Edmond Roi et Martir prochein apres le dit septisme iour Daust fiust racifie et conferme par auctorite de mesme le parlement <10> come par les lettres de confirmacioun de nostre sieur le Roi qorest des ditz lettres patentz a nous monstrez et pleinement appiert apres les faisauntz des queux lettres patentz a chescun <11> parlement tenuz tanque a cest present parlement deux hommes ount responduz par auctorite des ditz lettres patentz sibien come Chiualers por le dit Countee de Bristuit come <12> Burgeis por lez ditz Ville et Burgh Et ore est eusi qe brief assist al viscount del dit Countee de Bristuit deslier et faire venir a cest present parlement deux burgeis <13> par noun des Burgeis soulement por la ville de Bristuit coudre les libertees et franchises suisditz par vertue du quelle brief le dit viscount ad retourne en cest present parlement <14> Henri Gildeney et John langley come Burgeis por la dicte Ville de Bristuit soulement perensi qe lez ditz Henri et John ne purront estre rescen dapparer ne respondre en cest <15> present parlement come Chiualers por le dit Countee de Bristuit sibien come Burgeis por le ditz Ville et Burgh a disheritance de toutz les Burgeis enhabitantz deinz <16> le dit Countee de Bristuit de lour liberte et fraunchise suisditz et sur ceo dordiner par auctorite de cest present parlement qe les ditz Henri et John purront apparer <17> et respondre en mesme cest parlement por le dit Countee de Bristuit come Chiualers et por les ditz Ville et Burgh come Burgeis acordant a les libertees et franchises <18> suisditz et qe desore en auaunt a chescun parlement a tenir briefs isserount al Viscount del dit Countee de Bristuit deslier et faire venir deux hommes queux come <19> Chiualers por le dit Countee de Bristuit sibien come Burgeis por les ditz ville et Burgh en icelles parlamentz responderount accordantz a les libertees et franchises <20> suisditz nient obstant le dit brief retourne en cest present parlement et lapparance sur icelle contraire a les libertees et franchises suisditz *Inspeximus eciam indorsamentum* <21> *eiusdem petitionis in parlamento*¹ *predicto similiter factum in hec verba*, le Roi par aduis des sieurs espirituelx et temporelx esteantz en cest present parlement voet et graunte <22> qe par cause ou colour del issir du brief direct al Viscount de Bristuit por iceste parlement donc le peticioun fait mencion ou contenue ou retourne dicell ou par lappa- <23> -rance des Burgeis de la ville de Bristuit en mesme le present parlement par vertue du dit brief nulle preiudice aueigne as Burgeis de mesme la Ville contre la

¹ *in parlamento* is repeated in the MS.

(24) forme de lour chartre Nos autem tenores petitionis et indorsamenti predictorum ad requisicionem Burgensium Ville predictae tenore presencium duximus exemplificandos In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste me ipso apud Leycestre primo die Junii Anno regni nostri quarto

Prestwyk

Examine per Willelmum Prestwyk et Thomam Haseley clericos.

15th December, 14 Henry VI (1435)

Licence in Mortmain. The Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol are at heavy expense to maintain and repair the quays, walls and paving of the town, and also the bridge, which is subject to the severe wear and tare of the strong tidal flow beneath it and of packhorses, carts and other vehicles upon it. For the maintenance of this burden the Mayor and Commonalty and their successors are authorised to acquire, within the town and suburb, lands, tenements, rights of reversion, and rents, held of the king in burgage, and of others, to the value of one hundred pounds per annum.

Text from the original Letters Patent in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01220 (1)). It is written on a single membrane measuring 18 × 7½ in., with a bottom fold of 2 in., to which the Great Seal of Henry VI in green wax (damaged) is attached by white and red silk cords. The upper half of the document has been backed with manilla paper.

Endorsements:

In an early hand: Licenc' ad perquirend' terras ad val' c li. per annu' /

In a later hand: Ad susten' pontu' kayam le back et Muros.

C.P.R. 1429-36, 497. There is a copy of the original Letters Patent in the Little Red Book, f. 93; and a transcript of the original Letters Patent together with a translation, made by T. P. Wadley in 1899, is to be found in the archives of the Corporation (C.T.'s Dept.: 01220(5)). There is also a transcript from the Patent Roll in C.T.'s Dept.: 04383(1), pp. 176-177. Latimer, Calendar, 101.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem Sciatis quod nos debite considerantes magnos (2) et excessiuos custus misas et expensas quas dilecti et fideles ligei nostri Maior et Com-

munitas Ville nostre Bristoll' tam circa reparacionem sustentacionem emendacionem kaiarum murorum et pauimenti <3> ville predictae quam pontis eiusdem ville qui nedum per vehementem aque cursum subtus pontem illum fluentis et refluentis verumeciam per continuum transitum et accessum diuersorum summagiorum <4> caretтарum et aliorum cariagiorum per pontem illum transeuncium indies peioratur debilitatur et dirumpitur habent et sustinent eosque exnunc continue habere et sustinere oportebit, de gracia nostra <5> speciali ac de ausamento et assensu consilii nostri concessimus Maiori et Communitati eiusdem Ville qui nunc sunt vel qui pro tempore erunt quod ipsi adquirere possint terras tenementa reuersiones et <6> redditus infra Villam predictam et suburbia eiusdem que tam de nobis in burgagio quam de aliis tenentur ad valorem Centum librarum per annum habenda et tenenda eisdem Maiori et Communitati <7> ac successoribus suis in sustentacionem onerum predictorum imperpetuum Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito aut eo quod terre tenementa reuersiones et redditus predicta de nobis <8> ut premittitur teneantur non obstante Dumtamen per inquisitiones in hac parte capiendas et in cancellaria nostra seu heredum nostrorum rite retornandas compertum sit quod id fieri possit absque dampno <9> et preiudicio nostri vel heredum nostrorum seu aliorum quorumcumque In cuius rei testimonium has litteras postras fieri fecimus patentes Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium quintodecimo die Decembris Anno <10> regni nostri quarto decimo

[P]res[t]wyk

per ipsum Regem et consilium in parlamento

5th February, 24 Henry VI (1446)

Letters Patent : Grant of Admiralty jurisdiction. In consideration of valuable shipping services rendered to the Crown in times past by merchants and burgesses of Bristol, and of the sum of £200 which they have given to the king, and also of the great inconveniences and losses which they have suffered from the activities of the officials of the Admiral of England, the king has granted to the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol, and their heirs and successors for ever, that the town of Bristol and its suburbs, the County thereof, and all and singular places within the precinct and liberty, by land and by water, shall be for ever exempt from the authority and jurisdiction of the Admiral and

his representatives. These shall in no wise enter therein to take proceedings or make execution in any matter pertaining to the office of Admiral, or intromit in such, or summon, distrain or attach any persons or chattels, or sit in a judicial capacity under pretext of Admiralty jurisdiction. No Burgess, or person resident within the town, suburbs and county of Bristol, shall be impleaded or compelled to answer therein before the Admiral or his representatives in any suit, whether of the Crown or otherwise, for things done on the sea or elsewhere, or for any contracts, conventions, transgressions, contempts, misprisions or other offences, things or matters done on land or on the sea. The Mayor and Commonalty, the Sheriff, and those resident within the town, county and liberty, shall not permit the Admiral or his representatives to exercise any such jurisdiction or office there, nor shall they in any wise obey him ; but they shall be free to resist and impede him if he attempts to do so, without fear of royal action against them therefor. When Admiralty cases arise within the town, county, liberty and port of Bristol, the Crown will cause a Commission or Commissions or Letters Patent under the Great Seal to be issued to the Mayor and Recorder, and to other persons whom it shall deem fitting, amongst whom either the Mayor or the Recorder shall always be included. The work of such Commissions shall always be carried out in the presence of the Mayor and Recorder, or one of them. All proceedings of any Commission, or under any Letters Patent, issued contrary to this privilege, shall be wholly void, as also any proceedings of the Admiral or his deputies. The latter are warned that any attempt to intromit in Bristol will be punished by the heaviest forfeiture ; and they are ordered, on view of the present Letters Patent, to observe their provisions in every particular without any further royal mandate.

Text from the original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department : Royal Charters and Letters Patent : 01221). It consists of a single membrane which now measures 25 × 17½ in. The document, extensively damaged by damp, is mounted on manilla paper. A portion has apparently been cut from the upper edge of the folded bottom margin. The Great Seal in green wax (damaged) has the small quatrefoil which distinguishes that of Henry VI from his father's. Having been detached by cutting the green and red silk cords, the seal has been reappended by passing the cords through holes made, two in a new bottom fold, and two 1½ in. above it. The initial letters of the address are decorated. Although the pattern is very much faded, it is possible to discern the Crown of St. Edward above the stem of the initial H of the king's

name, and within the bow the king is depicted enthroned. The R of the word Rex and the F of Francie are entwined in a crown with the royal motto and arms. Parts of the text are illegible, and the lacunae have been supplied from the copy in the Little Red Book, f. 160 b. There are faint traces of annotations in a seventeenth-century (?) hand in the left-hand margin, but these are almost entirely illegible.

Endorsements: Henr. Sextus.

(In a later hand) Henry 7th 1509

C.P.R. 1441-46, 439; C.F.R. 1445-52, 16. Latimer, *Calendar*, 102-103. There is a transcript from the Patent Roll in C.T.'s Dept.: 04383(1), p. 188, and a transcript of the original in the Little Red Book, f. 160 b.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem Sciatis quod nos considerantes magna et notabilia obsequia que <2> quamplures mercatores Burgenses ville nostre Bristoll' cum eorum nauibus et nauigiis ad suos sumptus et expensas non modicos certis inclitis progenitoribus nostris et nobis multipliciter diuersimodo <3> impenderunt necnon magnam gratitudinem quam nuper in Maiore et Communitate eiusdem ville inuenimus grantanter nobis [dando] ducentas libras in nostra necessitate pro certis arduis regni <4> nostri negociis clerius expendiendis Aceciam qualiter quamplures dictorum Burgensium et mercatorum per locumtenentes et ministros Admiralli nostri Anglie ante hec tempora existentis sepius grauiter <5> vexati [et] tu[r]bati extiterunt in ipsorum burgensium et mercatorum dampnum non modicum et grauamen de gracia nostra speciali ex mero motu et certa sciencia nostris concessimus et pro nobis et <6> heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est / concedimus nunc Maiori et Communitati ville predictae eorum heredibus [et succe]ssoribus suis imperpetuum quod villa predicta et suburbia eiusdem et Comitatus Bristoll' <7> et [omnia] et singula loca infra procinctum et libertatem eorundem imperpetuum [tam per terram] quam per aquam sint exempta separata priuata et absoluta a quacumque potestate iurisdiccione et officio Admiralli <8> ac Admirallorum regni nostri Anglie heredum et successorum nostrorum ac eorum Com[missar]iorum Officiariorum deputatorum locatenencium et ministrorum quorumcumque pro tempore existencium / Et quod nullus <9> Admirallus noster Anglie heredum vel successorum nostrorum vel eius locumtenens Commissarius Officiarius vel deputatus pro tempore existens nec aliqui Admiralli nec locatenentes Commissarii Ministri <10> [Officiarii] vel [deputati eiusdem] Admiralli seu admirallorum nostrorum vel heredum

nostrorum pro tempore existentes [villam predictam] nec suburbia procinctum aut Portum eiusdem ville nec Comitatum Bristoll' per terram seu <11> per aquam [de cetero ad aliquid] infra villam suburbia procinctum Comitatum et portum illa quod ad officium [Admirallitatis pertinet seu pertinere] poterit inquirendum exercendum faciendum seu exequendum ingrediantur seu ingre- <12> -[diatur quouismodo Set quod] dicta villa suburbia Comitatus et singula loca infra procinctum et libertatem [eorundem tam per aquam quam per terram sint omnino et] imperpetuum extra potestatem iurisdictionem et auctoritatem dictorum <13> [Admiralli Admirallorum et] eorum locatenencium officiariorum deputatorum [et ministrorum] suorum [quorumcumque Et quod nullus Admirallus nec aliqui Admiralli nostri] Anglie heredum vel successorum nostrorum nec eius aut eorum <14> [locatenentes deputati ministri nec] officarii sui predicti nec eorum aliquis [in]fra dic[tam] villam suburbia [procinctum et portum] nec infra Comitatum Bristoll' per terram seu per aquam de aliquo quod ad officium Admirallitatis <15> [seu ad eorum officium quodcumque] in hac parte pertinet [seu] pertinere poterit [int]romittat seu intromittant [nec aliquam per]sonam seu [personas infra] eadem seu aliquem locum infra procinctum eorundem ex aliqua causa quacumque <16> [citent sammoneant distringant a]ttachiant seu [capiant in personis vel bonis] nec ali[quid] quod [ad] officium huiusmodi [pertinet seu per]tinere poterit [inibi] faciant excerceant seu [exequantur nec ibidem] iudicialiter nec pretextu seu colore <17> [huiusmodi officii sui sedeant vel] sedeant quouismodo Et quod [n]ull[us] Communitatis ville predictae nec aliquis burg[ensis] ville eiusdem [pro tempore existens nec aliquis infra eadem villam] suburbia et Comitatum pro tempore <18> [residens seu existens decetero tra]hatur in [pla]citum aut ad respondendum quouismodo compellatur infra [eadem villam suburbia procinctum et Comitatum] coram predicto Admirallo seu Admirallis seu eius aut eorum locatenentibus Commis- <19> -[sariis ministris seu deputatis] pro tempore existentibus ad [sectam n]ostram heredum [vel successorum nostrorum nec a]lterius cuiuscumque seu alio modo quocumque de rebus super mare vel alibi factis nec de aliquibus contractibus <20> [conuencionibus transgressionibus contemptibus] mesprisio[n]ibus aut aliis [offensis] rebus vel materiis quibuscumque per te[rram] seu [per aquam perpetratis] seu emergentibus quouis modo Et quod nec predicti Maior et Communitas <21> [nec eorum successores nec Vicecomes] Comitatus predicti pro tempore existens nec aliquis alius [infra] eadem villam [Comitatum lib]ertatem et

procinctum eorundem residens seu pro tempore existens prefatum Admirallum nec prefatos Admirallos <22> [nec eius aut eorum locatenentes deputa]tos Commissarios vel Ministros aut eorum aliquem iurisd[iccionem seu officia sua huiusmodi] ibidem excercere permittant seu permittat / nec eis nec eorum preceptis aut mandatis ibidem <23> [exequendis obediat intendat obediant v]el intendant sed eis si contra hanc concessionem [nostram in aliquo contrauenerint resistere et disobe]dire licite valeant et impune absque aliquibus impetitione molestacione seu grauamine forisfactura <24> [pena aut] aliquo [deperdito nobis] vel heredibus nostris aut huiusmodi Admirallo seu Admirallis [nostri aut dictorum heredum] nostrorum pro tempore existencibus fiendo soluendo forisfaciendo siue quouis modo leuando / Et insuper de <25> [gracia nostra speciali ac ex mero motu et certa sciencia] nostris predictis pro nobis et heredibus [nostris predictis concessimus] et pro nobis et heredibus nostris predictis concedimus eisdem Maiori et Communitati heredibus et successoribus suis <26> [imperpetuum quod in casu quo quicquam quod ad officium] Admirallitatis pertinet [seu pertinere poterit pro aliquibus contractibus conuen-]cionibus aut quibuscumque aliis rebus supra mare vel alibi factis siue perpetratis et que infra villam, <27> [Comitatum lib]ertatem [portum seu procinctum predictos] pro huiusmodi rebus siue contractibus refor[mandis seu corrigendis Inquiri] audiri seu terminari poterint seu debebunt quoquo modo quod tunc nos et heredes nostri commissionem <28> [seu commissiones vel litteras patentes] sub magno sigillo nostro in hac parte faciendas Maiori et [Recor]datori ville predicte pro tempore existentibus ac aliis personis quas nos duxerimus vel heredes nostri predicti duxerint nominandas quarum <29> [quidem personarum alter predictorum Maioris et Recor]datoris se[mp]er sit vnus [quociens opus fuerit et necesse fieri et dirigi faciemus seu heredes nostri predicti fieri et] dirigi [facient] que quidem persone ad execucionem aliquam <30> [huiusmodi commissionum siue litterarum nisi in] presencia dictorum Maioris et Recor[datoris pro tempore] existencium [vel alterius eorum minime procedant Et si que commissio co]mmissiones siue littere patentes in contrarium huiusmodi concessionis <31> [nostre concesse facte fuerint siue liberate] eedem commissio commissiones [siue littere patentes] et omnia [pretextu earundem litterarum facta comperta siue executi necnon omnia et singula per Admirallum] seu Admirallos nostri vel <32> [heredum nostrorum eorum officarios] deputatos seu ministros quosc[umque in] contrarium presentis concessionis [nostre facta reperta siue executi vigore et

virtute presencium sint vacua irrita et pro nullo siue nullis] habita et in <33> [omnibus reputata et tenta Ita quod] Admirallus noster Anglie et heredum nostrorum pro tempore existens [vel eius locumtenens commissarius officarius] procurator [vel deputatus aut locumtenentes] officarii <34> [procuratores vel deputati huiusmodi] Admiralli pro tempore existens [quicumque villam Comitatum suburbia libertatem procinctum portum aut singula loca predicta per terram vel per aquam ad aliquid inibi] quod ad offi- <35> [-cium Admirallitatis pertinet seu pertinere] poterit faciendum seu excercendum aliquialiter ingrediatur seu ingrediantur seu / se aut [eorum aliquem infra villam comitatum suburbia libertatem portum procinctum] aut loca predicta <36> [aliquialiter intromittat seu intromittant] Dantes autem huiusmodi admirallo [ac admi]ral- lis [nostris et heredum] nostrorum pro tempore existen[tibus ac eorum locatenentibus] commissariis Officiariis procuratoribus deputatis et <37> [ministis et eorum cuilibet] sub graui forisfactura omnium que nobis et heredibus nostris forisfacere po[terint] tenore presencium firmiter in mandatis quod ipsi et eorum] quilibet super sola [exhibicione] seu demonstratione presencium <38> [omnibus et singulis premissis pareant et] obediant absque aliquo breui seu aliquo alio processu seu mandato [in] hac parte eis dirigendo prosequendo seu optinendo in [futurum ea] in aliquo non contraveniendo eo quod expressa <39> [mencio de vero val]ore annuo [aut] de aliquo alio valore omnium et singulorum premissorum [aut de aliis] donis et concessionibus eisdem Maiori et Communitati aut predecessoribus suis per nos seu progenitores nostros ante <40> hec tempora [factis in presentibus] minime facta existit aut aliquibus statutis [ordinacionibus prouisionibus actibus] seu restriccionibus in contrarium factis seu faciendis non obstantibus In cuius rei testimonium has litteras <41> nostras fieri [fecimus] patentes Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium quinto die Februarii Anno regni [nostri] vicessimo quarto

Godyng

per breue de priuato sigillo et de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti.

Duplicatur

23rd May, 30 Henry VI (1452)

Letters Patent: Royal Pardon. After a pious exordium on the sinful state of man; the workings of Divine Providence, and the virtue of forgiveness, especially at the season of Our Lord's crucifixion, the

King, out of reverence for God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in consideration of the merits and proved loyalty of his subjects and lieges, has pardoned John Stanley, Mayor, Richard Hatter, Sheriff, and the Commonalty of Bristol in respect of offences committed prior to Good Friday [7th April, 1452] namely:—All transgressions, offences, misprisions, etc., contrary to the Livery Statutes. Suit of the king's peace for all treasons, murders, rapes, rebellions, insurrections, felonies, conspiracies, champerties, maintenance, embracery, etc. Outlawries pronounced upon any of them, provided none the less that they shall stand to right in the king's court if anyone shall wish to complain against them concerning any of the foregoing offences. All gifts, alienations and acquisitions of lands held in chief of the Crown, or gifts or acquisitions in mortmain, without royal licence, and all unlawful entrance upon inheritances without due process. All penalties imposed before the King or Council in Chancery or Treasury or any royal Justices, and all other penalties due to the King or his father before Good Friday, and all securities for keeping the peace forfeited before that date; and forfeitures of a third and a third of a third of prisoners of war, due to the king prior to that date are remitted. All transgressions, offences, misprisions, etc., contrary to statutes made prior to that date, concerning the receipt and publication of papal bulls; and all other statutes, ordinances and provisions under which actions might be brought against them by bill or writ of premunire or otherwise, or any other statutes, etc. Provided always that the present pardon, remission or relaxation shall not extend to any person or persons against whom any suit was pending, at the instance of the Crown or otherwise, by writ or bill of premunire issued after the Nativity of St. John the Baptist last past [24th June, 1451] and prior to Good Friday [7th April, 1452]. Further the king has remitted all pains and penalties which they, or any of them, ought to incur, and all forfeitures of land, tenements, rents, chattels, etc., under the aforesaid statutes and ordinances. It is expressly stated that this pardon does not extend to the murderers of the bishops of Chichester and Salisbury, and their accessories.¹

Text from the original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 10254 (1)).² It consists of a single membrane

¹ Adam de Molyneux, bishop of Chichester, was murdered in a riot at Portsmouth on 8th January, 1450. He was accused of being "the traitor who had sold Normandy." William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury, was dragged from the altar when he was saying Mass, and murdered, at Edington in Wiltshire, on 29th June, 1450.

² Diplomatically this pardon is of great interest.

measuring 9 × 17½ in., to which the Great Seal in red wax is appended by a strip of parchment passed through a slit in the folded bottom margin. Upon this strip is the Irrotulatur.

Endorsement: Carta Perdonationis Domini H vith facta Maiori et Communitati Bristoll' A xxx^o eiusdem Regis.

Pardon Roll, 30/31 Henry VI, m. 23 [*P.R.O.* C67/40], where John Stanley, Richard Hatter and the Commonalty of Bristol appear in a long list of recipients of pardons in the same terms. Latimer, *Calendar*, 109-110.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus Balliuis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes littere peruenierint salutem; Sciatis quod non solum ob insignia merita subditorum et ligeorum nostrorum qui nobis probatissimam fidem suam illesam incontaminatamque (2) seruauerunt verumeciam nos attendentes quod ineffabilis diuine prouidence sublimitas licet hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem sui conditum post lapsum eius in peccatum ad statum gracie a quo decedit nullatenus ex se aut suis viribus seu meritis set sola (3) dignacione diuine propiciacionis et misericordie redire valentem restaurare reparareque decreuisset non tamen ad opus ipsum tam grande faciendum protinus et indilate procedendum duxit quinimmo post multas et longissimas labentis huius seculi etates ipso videlicet generi (4) humano maiore sui ex parte in maligna digresso cum nemo de suis meritis gloriari potuisset opus huiusmodi tam insigne tot et tantorum annorum curriculis expectatum nouissimis tandem temporibus censuit consummandum cuius sacra vestigia pro nostre modicitatis (5) viribus sequi sectarique cupientes considerantes plerosque ligeorum ac subditorum nostrorum in diuersis huius regni nostri partibus contra deum et iusticiam ac contra dignitatem et auctoritatem nostram regiam ac aduersus tranquillitatem ac pacem huius regni nostri et rei publice nobis (6) commissam nostri legumque nostrarum contemptum multipliciter offendisse quosdam videlicet enormia atque delicta perpetranda et idcirco nostre seueritatis aculeos merito formidare debere Nos quamquam propter eorum multitudinem misericorditer cum eis agendum (7) existimauerimus Non tamen precipiter vel immatura festinacione ad hoc duximus procedendum quinimmo remissionis huiusmodi ac perdonacionis nostre largicionem et gratiam aduentui sacre diei parasceues videlicet septimi diei Aprilis ultimo preterito decreuimus reseruandas vt ea (8) quidem die remissionis et indulgencie nostre largitatem impartiremus qua redemptor noster amplissimum et estimabile sue miseracionis et indulgencie bene beneficium vniuerso humano generi numero quodam et ineffabili libertatis et

munificencie sue modo <9> decreuerat largiendum horum igitur et religiosa consideracione promoti ob dei reuerenciam gloriosissime-
que Virginis genitricis sue Marie in cuius laudem et honorem Collegiorum nostrorum fundaciones ereximus et in quem post de-
um totam spem nostram prefiximus ac predicti <10> sacre diei Parasceues vniuerso generi humano specialiter venerande ipsius redem-
ptoris nostri quatenus sufficimus et valemus exemplum imitari volentes de gracia nostra speciali et ex certa sciencia et mero motu
nostris dicto die Parasceues perdonanda censemus remittenda <11> et relaxanda ac in presenti perdonanda censemus remittenda et
relaxanda necnon per presentes perdonamus remittimus et relaxamus Iohanni Stanley Maiori Ville Bristoll' Ricardo hatter Vice-
comiti eiusdem ville ac Comitatus Ville predictae seu quibuscumque aliis nobis <12> censeantur omnimoda transgressiones offensas
mesprisiones contemptus et impeticiones per ipsos Maiorem Vicecomitem et communitatem ante predictam diem Parasceues contra
formam statutorum de liberatis pannorum et capiciorum facta siue perpetrata vnde punicio <13> caderet in finem et redemp-
cionem aut in alias penas pecuniarias seu imprisonmenta statutis predictis non obstantibus Et insuper ex motu et sciencia nostris
predictis perdonauimus remisimus et relaxauimus eisdem Maiori Vicecomiti et Communitati sectam pacis <14> nostre que ad nos
versus ipsos pertinet pro omnimodis prodicionibus murdris raptibus mulierum rebellionibus insurrectionibus felonis conspiracionibus
cambipertiis manutenenciis et imbracariis ac aliis transgressionibus offensis negligenciis extorsionibus mesprisionibus <15> ignoranciis
contemptibus forisfacturis et decepcionibus per ipsos Maiorem Vicecomitem et communitatem ante dictam diem Parasceues
qualitercumque factis siue perpetratis Aceciam vtlagarias si que in ipsos hiis occasionibus seu earum aliqua fuerint promulgate <16>
et firmam pacem nostram eis inde concedimus Ita tamen quod stent recto in Curia nostra si quis versus eos loqui voluerit de pre-
missis vel aliquo premissorum perdonauimus eciam remisimus et relaxauimus eisdem Maiori Vicecomiti et Communitati <17> omni-
moda donaciones alienaciones et perquisiciones per ipsos de terris tentis de nobis vel progenitoribus nostris quondam regibus Anglie
in capite tentis Aceciam donaciones et perquisiciones ad manum mortuam factas et habitas absque licencia nostra necnon omni-
moda <18> intrusiones et ingressus in hereditatem suam in parte vel in toto post mortem antecessorum suorum absque debita
prosecucione eiusdem extra manum regiam ante eundem diem Parasceues factas vna cum exitibus et proficiis inde medio tempore

<19> perceptis Et insuper perdonauimus remisimus et relaxauimus eisdem Maiori Vicecomiti et Communitati omnimodas penas ante eundem diem Parasceues forisfactas coram nobis seu consilio nostro Cancellario Thesaurario seu aliquo Iudicum nostrorum pro aliqua causa <20> et omnes alias penas tam nobis quam carissimo patri nostro defuncto per ipsos Maiorem Vicecomitem et communitatem pro aliqua causa ante eundem diem Parasceues forisfactas et ad opus nostrum leuandas ac omnimodas securitates pacis ante eundem diem <21> Parasceues similiter forisfactas Aceciam tercias et terciarum tercias omnimodorum prisonariorum in guerra captorum nobis dicto die Parasceues qualitercumque debitas pertinentes siue spectantes per eosdem Maiorem Vicecomitem et communitatem necnon omnimodos <22> transgressiones offensas mesprisiones contemptus et impetitiones per ipsos Maiorem Vicecomitem et Communitatem ante eundem diem Parasceues contra formam tam quorumcumque statutorum ordinacionum et prouisionum ante dictam diem Parasceues factorum <23> siue editorum de perquisicionibus acceptacionibus leccionibus publicacionibus notificacionibus et execucionibus quibuscumque quarumcumque litterarum et bullarum apostolicarum ante eundem diem Parasceues ac omnium aliorum statutorum ordinacionum et prouisionum preteritu quorum aliqua secta versus <24> eosdem Maiorem Vicecomitem et Communitatem per billam vel per breue de premunire facta siue alio modo quocumque pro aliqua materia ante eundem diem Parasceues fieri valeat quam quorumcumque aliorum statutorum factos siue perpetratos statutis siue ordinacionibus illis <25> non obstantibus Prouiso semper quod presens perdonacio remissio siue relaxacio nostra ad aliquem vel aliquos versus quem vel versus quos aliqua secta ex parte nostra aut alterius cuiuscumque per breue nostrum vel per billam de premunire facta in curia nostra coram nobis <26> aut in aliqua alia Curia nostra dicto die Parasceues vel aliquo alio die citra festum Natiuitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste ultimo preterito et ante dictum diem Parasceues de perquisicionibus litterarum et bullarum apostolicarum supradictarum contra formam statutorum ordinacionum et prouisionum predictorum factis <27> aut de aliquibus aliis rebus perquisiciones huiusmodi aut statuta ordinaciones et prouisiones illa tangentibus pendebat quo ad id nullatenus se extendat Et insuper de vberiori gracia nostra perdonauimus remisimus et relaxauimus prefatis Maiori Vicecomiti et Communitati omnimodas <28> penas et puniciones quas occasionibus predictis seu earum aliqua erga nos incurrere deberet ac omnes et omnimodas forisfacturas terrarum tenementorum reddi-

tuum possessionum bonorum et catallorum suorum quorumcumque nobis occasionibus predictis seu earum aliqua pertinentes siue spectantes Prouiso eciam quod <29> presens perdonacio nostra se non extendat ad aliquem illorum qui Venerabiles patres Adam Cicestrensem et Willelmum Saresberiensem Episcopos seu eorum alterum nequiter interfecerunt seu ad illum vel illos qui neci eorum vel alterius eorum quouis modo agentes fauentes auxiliantes <30> conscienties vel procurantes extiterunt In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xxiii die Maii Anno regni nostri tricesimo

Godying

per ipsum regem

22nd October, 1 Edward IV (1461)

Letters Patent: Grant of Admiralty jurisdiction. The main clauses of this grant follow very closely those of the grant made by Henry VI in 1446 (supra, pp. 122 ff).¹ It differs only in the following respects: The preamble contains no reference either to a money payment or to the oppressive nature of the jurisdiction of the Admiral and his deputies. The clause providing that the proceedings of Commissions, appointed to deal with Admiralty cases in Bristol, must take place in the presence of the Mayor and Recorder, or one of them, which was included in the 1446 grant, is here omitted.

Text from the original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01222). It consists of a single membrane which now measures 21 × 15 in., to the twice-folded bottom margin of which the Great Seal in green wax, on red and green silk cords, has been re-appended by knotting the cords through the holes. The document has been damaged by damp, though less extensively than no. 01221, and has been similarly mounted on manilla paper. The initial of the king's name, and the royal titles are decorated with a simple pattern. The greater part of the document is clearly legible, and the few lacunae have been supplied from the Letters Patent (Inspeximus) of 28th November, 2 Richard III (1484) (C.T.'s Department, 01226).

C.P.R. 1461-7, 85. Seyer, *Bristol Charters*, 98ff. Latimer, *Calendar*, 111-12. There is a transcript from the Patent Roll in C.T.'s Dept.: 04383(1), pp. 198-200.

¹ With the exception of the points of difference noted here, the two grants correspond so closely that it is unnecessary to give a full abstract of the present grant.

Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem Sciatis quod <2> de gracia nostra speciali ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris consideratione notabilium obsequiorum per dilectos fideles ligeos nostros Maiorem et Communitatem Ville nostre Bristoll' <3> [nobis] multipliciter impensorum concessimus et pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est concedimus Maiori et Communitati ville predictae eorum heredibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum <4> [quod villa predicta et] suburbia eiusdem et Comitatus Bristoll' et omnia et singula loca infra procinctum et libertatem eorundem imperpetuum tam per terram quam per aquam sint exempta <5> separata priuata et absoluta a quacumque potestate iurisdiccione et officio Admiralli ac Admirallorum regni nostri Anglie heredum et successorum nostrorum ac eorum Commissariorum <6> officiariorum deputatorum et locatenencium et ministrorum quorumcumque pro tempore existentium Et quod nullus Admirallus noster Anglie heredum vel successorum nostrorum vel eius locumtenens <7> Commissarius officarius vel deputatus pro tempore existens nec aliqui admiralli nec locatenentes commissarii ministri officarii vel deputati eiusdem Admiralli seu Admirallorum nostrorum <8> vel heredum nostrorum pro tempore existentium [villam] predictam nec suburbia procinctum aut portum eiusdem ville nec Comitatum Bristoll' per terram seu per aquam decetero ad aliquid infra villam suburbia procinctum <9> Comitatum et portum illa quod ad officium Admirallitatis pertinet seu pertinere poterit inquirendum excercendum faciendum seu exequendum ingrediantur seu ingrediat quouis modo / Set quod dicta villa suburbia Comitatus et singula <10> loca infra procinctum et libertatem eorundem tam per terram quam per aquam sint omnino et imperpetuum extra potestatem iurisdiccione et auctoritatem dictorum Admiralli Admirallorum et eorum locatenencium officiariorum <11> deputatorum et ministrorum suorum quorumcumque Et quod nullus Admirallus nec aliqui Admiralli nostri Anglie heredum vel successorum nostrorum nec eius aut eorum locatenentes deputati ministri nec officarii seu predicti <12> nec eorum aliquis infra dictam villam suburbia procinctum et portum nec infra Comitatum Bristoll' per terram seu per aquam de aliquo quod ad officium Admirallitatis seu eorum officium quodcumque in hac parte pertinet <13> seu pertinere poterit intro mittat seu intromittant nec aliquam personam seu personas infra eadem seu aliquem locum infra procinctum eorundem ex aliqua causa quacumque citent summoneant distringant attachent <14>

seu capiant in personis vel bonis nec aliquid quod ad officium huiusmodi pertinet seu pertinere poterit inibi faciant excerceant seu exequantur nec inibidem iudicialiter nec pretexto seu colore huiusmodi officii sui <15> sedeant seu sedeat quouismodo Et quod nullus communitatis ville predictae nec aliquis burgensis ville eiusdem pro tempore existens nec aliquis infra eadem villam suburbia et comitatum pro tempore residens seu exis- <16> -tens decetero trah[at in placitum] aut ad respondendum quouismodo compellatur infra eadem villam suburbia procinctum et Comitatum coram predictis Admirallo¹ seu Admirallis seu eius aut eorum locatenentibus Commis- <17> -sariis ministris seu deputatis pro tempore existencibus ad sectam nostram heredum vel successorum nostrorum nec alterius cuiuscumque seu alio modo quocumque de rebus super mare vel alibi factis nec de aliquibus contrac- <18> -tibus conuencionibus transgressionibus contemptibus misprisionibus aut aliis offensis rebus vel materiis quibuscumque per terram seu per aquam perpetratis seu emergentibus quouismodo / Et quod nec predictus Maior <19> et Communitas nec eorum successores nec Vicecomes Comitatus predicti pro tempore existens nec aliquis alius infra eadem villam Comitatum libertatem et procinctum eorundem residens seu pro tempore existens prefatum <20> Admirallum nec prefatos Admirallos nec eius aut eorum locatenentes deputatos Commissarios vel ministros aut eorum aliquem iurisdictionem seu officia sua huiusmodi ibidem excercere permittant seu <21> permittat [nec ei]s vel eorum preceptis aut mandatis ibidem exequendis obediat intendat obediant seu intendant set eis [si con]tra hanc concessionem nostram contrauerint resistere in aliquo et disobedire licite <22> vale[ant et] impune absque aliquibus impetitione molestacione seu gravamine forisfactura pena aut aliquo deperdito nobis vel heredibus nostris aut huiusmodi Admirallo siue Admirallis nostri aut dictorum <23> heredum nostrorum pro tempore existencibus fiendo soluendo satisfaciendo siue quouismodo leuando Et insuper de gracia nostra speciali ac ex mero motu et certa sciencia nostris predictis pro nobis et heredibus <24> nostris predictis concessimus et pro nobis et heredibus nostris predictis concedimus eisdem Maiori et Communitati heredibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum quod in casu quo quicquam quod ad officium Admiralli- <25> -tatis pertinet seu pertinere poterit pro aliquibus contractibus conuencionibus aut quibuscumque aliis rebus su[pra mar]e vel alibi factis siue perpetratis. et que infra villam Comitatum libertatem portum seu <26> procinctum pre-

¹ *Admirallis* in MS.

dictos pro huiusmodi rebus siue contractibus reformandis seu corrigendis inquiri audiri [se]u determinari poterunt seu debebunt quoquo modo quod tunc nos et heredes nostri Commissionem <27> seu commissiones vel litteras patentes sub magno [sigillo] nostro in hac parte faciendas Maiori et Recordatori ville predictae pro tempore existencibus ac aliis personis quas nos duxerimus vel heredes nostri predicti <28> duxerint nominandas quociens opus fuerit et necesse fieri et dirigi faciemus seu heredes nostri predicti fieri [et] dirigi facient ad inquirendum de omnibus et omnimodis huiusmodi contractibus conuencionibus <29> transgressionibus offensis et rebus que per huiusmodi Admirallum siue in Curia Admirallitatis inquiri et determinari debent aut solebunt et ad omnes et singulos huiusmodi contractus conuenciones trans- <30> -gressionem offensa et res audienda et determinanda / et si que Commissio commissiones siue littere patentes incontrarium huiusmodi concessionis nostre concesse facte fuerint siue liberate eedem Commissio commissi- <31> -ones siue littere patentes et omnia pretextu earundem litterarum facta comperta siue executata necnon omnia et singula per Admirallum seu Admirallos nostri vel heredum nostrorum eorum officarios deputatos <32> siue Ministros quoscumque incontrarium presentis concessionis nostre facta reperta seu executata vigore et virtute presencium sint vacua irrita [et pro nulla] siue nullis habita et [in] omnibus reputata et tenta. <33> Ita quod Admirallus noster Anglie et heredum nostrorum pro tempore existens vel eius locumtenens Commissarius officarius procurator vel deputatus aut locatenentes Commisarii officarii procuratores <34> vel deputati huiusmodi Admiralli pro tempore existentes quicumque villam Comitatum suburbia libertatem procinctum portum aut singula loca predicta per terram vel per aquam ad aliquid inibi quod ad <35> officium Admirallitatis pertinet seu pertinere poterit faciendum seu exercendum aliquialiter ingrediatur seu ingradientur seu se aut eorum aliquem infra villam Comitatum suburbia libertatem portum procinctum aut <36> singula loca predicta aliquialiter intromittat siue intromittant Dantes autem huiusmodi Admirallo ac admirallis [nostris et] heredum nostrorum pro tempore existencibus ac eorum locatenentibus Commissariis <37> officiariis procuratoribus deputatis et ministris et eorum cuilibet sub [gra]ui forisfactura omnium que nobis et heredibus nostris forisfacere poterunt tenore presencium firmiter in mandatis quod ipsi et <38> eorum quilibet super [so]la et (sic) exhibicione seu demonstracione presencium omnibus et singulis premissis pareant et obediant absque aliquo breui seu aliquo alio processu seu man-

dato in hac parte eis (39) dirigendo prosequendo [seu] opt[inendo in futu]rum ea in aliquo non contrahendo eo quod expressa mencio de vero valore annuo aut de aliquo alio valore [omnium et] singulorum premissorum aut (40) de aliis donis et concessionibus eisdem [Maiori] et Communitati aut predecessoribus suis per nos seu progenitores nostros ante hec tempora factis in presentibus minime facta existit aut aliquibus (41) statutis ordinacionibus prouisionibus actibus seu restriccionibus in contrarium factis seu faciendis non obstantibus In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste me ipso (42) apud Westmonasterium vicesimo secundo die Octobris Anno regni nostri primo.

Bagot

per breue de priuato sigillo et de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti

Duplicatur

14th December, 1 Edward IV (1461)

Charter containing the following grants to the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol and their successors and the Burgesses of Bristol and their heirs and successors :—

The Mayor and Sheriff shall hold, in perpetuity, every fair-day in the king's court in the Guildhall, all personal pleas, viz. of debt, agreement, detention, account, fraud, contempt, seizure and detention of animals and chattels and other personal contracts, cases and matters whatsoever, within the town, County and suburbs of Bristol, and the liberty and precinct thereof, arising by bills and suits instituted and affirmed before them in the court aforesaid. They shall have authority to cause persons against whom such bills and suits have been brought to be summoned, and to be attached and distrained by their lands, goods and chattels, and when the case requires, to be arrested and attached in person and by their goods and chattels within the town, suburbs, liberty and precinct, by due process of law, and committed to prison, and to hear, determine and pronounce judgment in all such pleas, and make execution through their ministers.

The King has been humbly informed by the Mayor and Commonalty and Burgesses how, in times past, all wool, woollen cloth and other weighable merchandise, brought to Bristol by sea and by land by non-burgesses to be displayed and sold, was wont to be sold and weighed in a place appointed within the town by the Mayor and Common Council, and not elsewhere, for the protection of the king's

tolls and other payments, and for the benefit of the people of Bristol as well as those coming from other places; and how, owing to the omission of this wise custom, and the negligence of certain town officials, for some time past the king's revenues and the interests of his subjects have suffered by deceit and fraud, due to the selling of woollen cloth and merchandise of this kind in private places. The king therefore authorises the Mayor and Commonalty and Burgesses to assign, appoint and permanently maintain a fixed and suitable place wherein all wool, woollen cloth and other weighable merchandise coming to the town to be displayed and sold, shall be weighed. Any non-burgess wishing to sell such goods in the place so appointed shall have them weighed under the supervision of chamberlains appointed by the Mayor and Common Council, or that of the chamberlains' servants.

Further, the king grants that an annual fair be held, in perpetuity, on 20th June and the nine days following, with all the liberties pertaining to a fair, provided that it does not injure neighbouring fairs.

Finally, in aid of the repair and maintenance of the walls of the quay and other walls and the paving of the town, the Mayor and Commonalty and their successors and the Burgesses and their heirs and successors are authorised, in perpetuity, to levy by the agency of those whom they shall depute for the purpose, and for whom they shall be responsible, the following customs on goods brought by water for sale in Bristol¹:—Ships with merchandise entering the port, for each visit, 6d.; ships laden with fish or herring, 4d.; trading or fishing boats laden with merchandise, fish or herring, 2d.; each quarter of wheat and rye, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; every two quarters of beans, peas, malt, oats and salt, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; each tun of wine, 2d.; each weigh of tallow, 1d.; each last of herring, 3d.; each hundred of fish, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; every ship laden with timber, firewood or peat, 2d.; each chaldron of sea coal, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; each horse-load of garlic or onions, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; every ship laden with bark, 1d.; every boat or barge laden with firewood, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; every ten stone of hemp or flax, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each horse-load of iron, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; each cart-load of lead, 1d.; each tun of pitch or bitumen, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each tun of salt, 1d.; each tun of ashes, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; each hundred of teazles, 1d.; each hundred of wax, 1d.; each hundred of woollen cloth, 1d.; each hundred of linen-thread and canvas, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each hundred of pepper, 1d.; each frail of figs and raisins, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each hundred of almonds, 1d.; of avoirdupois, 1d. on the hundredweight; each hundred of board,

¹ These customs should be compared with the various grants of quayage, murage and pavage printed in vol. i, and especially with that of 27th April, 1347 (vol. i, pp. 112 ff) which the present charter follows closely.

$\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; every mast, Id. ; each hundred of spars or oars, Id. ; each bale of cordwain and basen (i.e. tanned sheepskin), Id. ; each chaldron of (fuller's) earth, Id. ; every ship laden with millstones, Id. ; each horse, mare, bullock or cow, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; every ten sheep, goats or pigs, Id. ; each hundred of grey (furs), 3d. ; each hundred of tin and copper, Id. ; all merchandise and saleable goods not here specified, coming to Bristol by water, with the exception of wool, hides and woolfells, Id. in the pound, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in ten shillings, and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in five shillings.

Witnesses : Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Papal Legate ; William, Archbishop of York, Primate of England ; George, Bishop of Exeter, Chancellor ; George, Duke of Clarence ; Richard, Duke of Gloucester ; Richard, Earl of Warwick, Seneschal of England ; Henry, Earl of Essex, Treasurer ; William, Earl of Kent, Steward of the Household ; John de Montagu ; William Hastings, Chamberlain ; Robert Stillington, clerk, Keeper of the Privy Seal ; and others.

Text from the original charter preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department : Royal Charters and Letters Patent : 01223). It consists of a single membrane measuring $21\frac{3}{4} \times 15$ in., to the folded bottom margin of which the Great Seal in green wax (damaged) on green and white silk cords braided with gold tinsel is appended in the customary manner. The initial letters in the first line, up to that of the word *Archiepiscopis* are decorated with a pattern of short, heavy pen-strokes. The right hand side of the charter is stained by damp, and somewhat rubbed, so that parts are almost illegible.

Endorsements : Edward 4th 1461.

(In a another hand) *Carta Ed. 4 . . .¹ libertatibus..*

C.Ch.R. 1427-1516, 862. Lacunae in the text have been supplied from a transcript of the original charter in the Great White Book, ff257-257b (C.T.'s Dept. : 04721). Latimer, *Calendar*, 112-115.

Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Ducibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris (2) et omnibus Balliuis et fidelibus suis ; salutem Sciatis quod nos obsequia laudabilia Burgensium ville nostre Bristoll' quibus se nobis incliteque recordacionis atque memorie progenitoribus nostris nuper Regibus Anglie (3) hucusque gratos in omnibus exhibuerunt et paratos presertim dilectos nobis nunc Burgenses eiusdem ville nobis iam pridem ad eorum sumptus custus labores onera et peri-

¹ Illegible in the MS.

cula nonmodica merito contemplan- <4> -tes sperantesque quod quanto iidem nunc Burgenses heredesque et successores sui amplioribus ex concessione nostra gaudeant libertatibus et priuilegiis fuerint communiter eos tanto fortius et effectualius nobis et heredibus <5> nostris ad meliora vel saltem consimilia imposterum impendenda animari sentimus et prouiores se pro viribus suis exhibere . De gracia nostra speciali et ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris concessimus <6> et per presentes pro nobis et heredibus nostris concedimus Maiori et Communitati ville predictae et successoribus suis ac prefatis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod Maior et Vicecomes ville predictae pro tempore existentes <7> in Curia nostra in le Guyldhall eiusdem ville omnia et omnimoda placita personalia videlicet debiti conuencionis detencionis compoti transgressionis deceptcionis transgressionis et contemptus capcionis et detencionis aueriorum et catallorum et aliorum <8> contractuum causarum et materiarum personalium quorumcumque infra villam Bristoll' Comitatum et suburbia eiusdem ac libertatem et procinctum eorundem ante hec tempora emergentia et imposterum emergenda per billas et querelas coram eisdem¹ Maiore et <9> Vicecomite in Curia illa leuandas et affirmandas quolibet die feriali tenere ac personas quascumque versus quas huiusmodi billas et querelas in dicta Curia prosequi vel moueri contigerit summoniri ac per terras bona et catalla sua attachiari et distringi et cum <10> casus requisierit per eorum corpora ac bona et catalla infra villam suburbia libertatem et procinctum predicta debito legis processu arrestari et attachiari et corpora prisone committi facere omniaque placita huiusmodi audire et terminare et iudicia <11> inde reddere execucionesque inde fieri facere possint per ministros suos imperpetuum Et vltcrius nos ex humili insinuacione predictorum Maioris Communitatis et Burgensium ville predictae accipientes qualiter nostrorum inclitorum progenitorum temporibus <12> omnes et singuli lane panni lanei et alie mercandise ponderabiles quecumque ad et in villam predictam per quamcumque personam Burgensem eiusdem ville non existentem tam per terram quam per mare adducte et allate in eadem vendende infra certum <13> locum infra villam predictam per Maiorem et commune consilium eiusdem ville pro tempore existentes ordinatum et assignatum et non in aliquo alio loco infra eandem villam vendi et ponderari consueuerunt Vnde nedum nobis theolonia et alia <14> debita quamplurima verumeciam fidelibus subditis nostris tam ville predictae quam aliis ad eandem confluentibus commoda publica accreuerunt et variis

¹ *eiusdem* in MS.

modis deuenerunt que per omissionem illius sane consuetudinis ac per negligenciam et <15> incuriam quorundem officiariorum in eadem villa ante hec tempora existencium per modica tempora iam elapsa diminuta sunt et subtracta in nostri dampnum et incomodum non modica fideliumque subditorum nostrorum predictorum per nonnullas decepiones et <16> falsitates in huiusmodi lanis pannis et mercandisis in locis priuatis venditis existentes et minime reparatas lesionem et dispendium manifesta ; Premissa considerantes omniaque et singula que nobis ac rei publice commoda fieri <17> poterunt infra villam predictam per regimen politicum vigere et accrescere affectantes De gracia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est volumus et tenore <18> presencium concedimus prefatis Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac predictis Burgensibus dicte ville nostre Bristoll' heredibus et successoribus suis quod ipsi ordinent assignent et appunctuent ac imperpetuum habeant vnum locum certum congruum <19> et conuenientem infra villam predictam infra quem omnes et singuli lane et panni lanei ac alie mercandise ponderabiles ad villam predictam decetero adducenda et asserenda ibidem vendenda vendi et ponderari poterunt et ponderabuntur <20> et quod quelibet persona Burgensis ville predicte non existens aliquos lanas pannos laneos aut alias mercandisas quascumque ponderabiles infra villam predictam extunc vendere volens lanas et pannos laneos et mercandisas huius- <21> -modi in loco per ipsos Maiorem Communitatem et Burgenses ordinando assignando et appunctuando tamen vendat et alias mercandisas ponderabiles quascumque ponderet per superuium Camerariorum dicte ville pro tempore existencium per Maiorem <22> et commune consilium eiusdem ville eligendorum aut Ministrorum eorundem Camerariorum et non in aliquo alio loco infra eandem villam quouis modo Concessimus eciam et per presentes pro nobis et heredibus nostris concedimus prefatis <23> Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac prefatis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod ipsi impertetuum habeant vnam feriam infra villam libertatem et procinctum predicta vbi melius sibi videbitur expedire quolibet anno tenendam die <24> Translacionis sancti Edwardi Regis et Martiris videlicet vicesimo die Iunii et nouem diebus tunc proxime et immediate sequentibus cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad huiusmodi feriam pertinentibus nisi feria illa sit ad nocumentum <25> vicinarum feriarum Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod dicti Maior et Communitas et successores sui ac prefati Burgenses

heredes et successores sui imperpetuum habeant vnam feriam infra dictam villam libertatem et procinctum predicta vbi <26> melius sibi videbitur expedire quolibet anno tenendam die translacionis sancti Edwardi Regis et Martiris videlicet vicesimo die Iunii et nouem diebus tunc proxime et immediate sequentibus cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad huiusmodi <27> feriam pertinentibus nisi feria illa sit ad nocumentum vicinarum feriarum Et vltorius de vberiori gracia nostra et in auxilium tam murorum kaie ville nostre predictae quam aliorum murorum et pauagii eiusdem ville reparandorum et emendorum conces- <28> -simus prefatis Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac prefatis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod ipsi imperpetuum capiant de rebus venalibus ad villam predictam per aquam venientibus per manus illorum quos ad hoc deputa- <29> -uerint et pro quibus respondere voluerint consuetudines subscriptas videlicet de qualibet naui mercatoria cum mercandis infra portum ibidem applicante singulis vicibus quibus ibidem applicauerit sex denareos¹ de qualibet <30> naue cum pisce vel allece carcata ibidem applicante quatuor denareos de quolibet batello mercatorio vel piscatorio cum mercandis pisce vel allece carcato ibidem applicante duos denareos de singulis quarteriis fru- <31> -menti et silignis venalis vnum quadrantem de singulis duobus quarteriis fabarum pisarum brasei auenarum et salis venalibus vnum quadrantem de singulis doliis vini venalibus duos denarios de qualibet peisa cepi venali vnum denarium de quolibet <32> lasto allece venali tres denarios de qualibet centena piscium venali vnum obolum de qualibet naui maeremio busta vel turbis venalibus carcata duos denarios de qualibet celdra carbonum maritiorum venali vnum quadrantem de quolibet <33> summagio allei vel ceporum venali vnum quadrantem de qualibet naui cortice venale carcata vnum denarium de qualibet batella sue barga busta venale carcata vnum obolum de singulis decem petris canabi vel lini venalibus vnum obolum de <34> quolibet summagio ferri venali vnum quadrantem de qualibet carrata plumbi venali unum denarium de quolibet dolio picis et bituminis venali vnum obolum de quolibet dolio salis venali vnum denarium de quolibet dolio cinerum vnum quadrantem <35> de qualibet centena cardonum venali vnum denarium de qualibet centena cere venali vnum denarium de qualibet centena panni lanuti venali vnum denarium de qualibet centena linee tele et canevasi venali vnum obolum de qualibet centena piperis venali vnum <36> denarium de quolibet

¹ *denareos* in MS. here and in other instances.

fraello ficuum et de raceniis venali vnum obolum de qualibet centena amigdalorum venali vnum denarium de auerio et pondere scilicet de centena vnum denarium de qualibet centena bordi venali vnum obolum de quolibet masto <37> venali vnum denarium de qualibet centenà cheuironum vel auerenum venali vnum denarium de quolibet ballo de cordewan' et basen' venali vnum denarium de qualibet celdra terre venali vnum denarium de qualibet naui molis venalibus carcata vnum <38> denarium de quolibet equo vel equa boue vel vacca venali vnum obolum de decem ouibus capris et porcis venalibus vnum denarium de qualibet centena grisei [operis] venali tres denareos de qualibet centena stanni et <39> cupri venali vnum denarium de quibuscumque mer[cimoniis et rebus venalibus hic non specifi]catis ad villam predictam per aquam venientibus exceptis [lanis coriis et pellibus lanutis venalibus unum denarium de libra] vnum obolum <40> de decem solidis et vnum quadrantem de quinque solidis eo quod [expressa] mencio de vero valore annuo aut quouis alio valore seu certitudine premissorum seu [eorum alicuius aut de aliis donis et concessionibus prefatis] <41> Maiori et Communitati seu predecessoribus suis aut predictis Burgensibus et predecessoribus suis per nos aut progenitores nostros seu eorum aliquem ante hec tempora factis in presentibus minime factis existit aliquo <42> statuto actu ordinatione vsu consuetudine vel prouisi[one in contrarium] facto ordinato vsitato vel prouiso aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacumque non obstante Hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus <43> Thoma Cantuariensi tocius Anglie Primate et apostolice sedis legato consanguineo nostro carissimo • Willelmo Eboracensi Anglie Primate • Archiepiscopis • Georgio Exoniensi carissimo Consanguineo nostro et Cancellario • Willelmo Eliensi • Episcopis • Georgio Clarenc' • <44> et Ricardo Gloucestrie • Ducibus • fratibus nostris precarissimis • Ricardo Warr[wic'] Senescallo Anglie • Henrico Essex' Thesaurario nostro • et Willelmo Kancie Senescallo hospicii nostri • Comitibus • Consanguineis nostris carissimis • ac dilectis et fidelibus nostris <45> Iohanne de Mountagu • et Willelmo Hastynges Camerario nostro • Militibus • ac dilecto Clerico nostro Roberto Styllngton' Custode Priuati sigilli nostri • et aliis • Data per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium quartodecimo die Decembris [Anno regni nostri primo]

Swerenden

per breue de priuato sigillo et de data predicta [auctoritate parliamenti]

Irrotulatur.

14th December, 1 Edward IV (1461)

Letters Patent (Inspeximus) reciting and confirming the charter of 1st April, 19 Richard II (1396) [supra, pp. 98 ff]. The form of the address is that proper to a charter, viz.: "*Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Ducibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliis et fidelibus*"; but the final protocol is in the usual Patent form. The Chancery clerk is Swerenden, and there is a note of fee: "*pro quadraginta solidis solutis in hanaperio*." On the folded bottom margin are inscribed the official memoranda "*Examinatu per Iohannem Pemberton' Willemum Swerendon clericos*," and "*Irrotulatur*."

The original document in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01224) is written on four membranes. The outer and second membranes measure $29\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{1}{2}$ in., the third membrane $29\frac{1}{2} \times 17$ in. and the inmost membrane $29\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ in. The Great Seal in green wax is attached to the folded bottom margin by green and white silk cords and gold tinsel braided through holes in the usual manner. The first (i.e. outer) and third membranes are somewhat rubbed, while the second and fourth membranes are in good condition, save for the last few lines of each. The fourth membrane is written in a slightly larger hand than the others, and is much less compressed, but it is of the same type and character as the hand of the other membranes. The bow and the final stroke of the elaborate initial of the king are decorated with labels; those on the bow containing the syllables *Aue/ma/ria/gra/cia/ple/na*; those on the final stroke *Dñe/sal/uñ/fac/Re/gem/Ed/Ward*. The initial letters in the first line, up to and including that of *Archiepiscopis*, are decorated with a simple pattern of heavy pen-strokes.

Endorsements: *Confirmatio Domini E iiij^a*

(In a later hand) *Confirmacio Edwardi iiij^a*

(In a later hand) *A^o : 1^{mo} : E^d : 4 : 14 : Decem :*

C.Ch.R. 1427-1516, 142; Seyer, *Bristol Charters*, 96-97; Latimer, *Calendar*, 112.

12th February, 1 Edward IV (1462)

Letters Patent: Perpetual Fee Farm Grant. First is recited how Henry VI had granted to Nicholas Hill, then Mayor, and the Commonalty of Bristol, the farm of the town (including the Castle and its ditch) for a term of sixty years immediately following the termina-

tion of the twenty years' lease [granted in 1438] which was still running. The Mayor and Commonalty rendered therefor annually to the Exchequer £102 15s. 6d., besides the payment of £14 10s. annually to the Abbot of Tewkesbury for the tithes of the town, 60s. to the Prior of St. James of Bristol for the rent of the town mill, and £39 14s. 6d. to the Constable of Bristol Castle and his ministers, viz. the Janitor and Watchmen of the Castle and the Forester of Kingswood. The Mayor and Commonalty have returned these Letters Patent to the Chancery to be cancelled, and the king has relieved them of all responsibility for the farm and payments stipulated therein. He now grants to the Mayor and Commonalty and their successors and the Burgesses and their heirs and successors, the town of Bristol, with the exception of the Castle and its ditch, to be held as from Michaelmas last past in perpetuity. They are to have all fines, redemptions and amercements, profits and forfeitures of all men and tenants within the town, suburbs and precinct; and everything which might accrue to the Crown from the right of year day and waste, and murder, in whatsoever courts arising, to be received by estreats of the Exchequer, through the Sheriff, without hindrance by royal officials. They are also to have the chattels of felons, fugitives, suicides, outlaws, and condemned persons and abandoned property. They shall hold the town and suburbs with all lands and tenements, fairs and markets, waters, commons, etc.; and assarts, wastes and purprestures, with the rents thereof and fines for entry thereupon; courts of view of frankpledge and hundred, wreck, waif and stray, royal fishes and all other customs. They shall have all fines, amercements, etc., arising from forest eyres, both for trespass to venison and vert and for other offences, to be received through their Bailiffs and ministers by estreats of the Justices. They shall have all the franchises and liberties pertaining to the town, with fines, amercements, etc., chattels of outlaws and fugitives, deodands, and emoluments arising from the punishment of false judgments in whatever courts delivered within the town; and emoluments arising from treasure-trove, forests, parks, chases, warrens, fishponds, and mines, any prerogative, privilege or franchise notwithstanding. Escheats of lands and tenements are, however, specifically excluded from the grant. They shall pay as ferm £102 15s. 6d. annually in equal instalments at Easter and Michaelmas, besides the payments (as above) to the Abbot of Tewkesbury, the Prior of St. James's, and the Constable of the Castle and his officers.

Text from the original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01225), which consists of a single membrane

measuring $30 \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ in., to the folded bottom margin of which the Great Seal in green wax (an excellent impression of Edward IV's second seal) on white and purple silk cords, braided with gold tinsel, has been reattached. The centre part of the membrane is backed with parchment paper. The lower right-hand corner is badly rubbed, and the ends of the last twelve lines are difficult to decipher. The initial of the king's name is decorated with scroll-work in ink, and all the capitals of the first line are decorated in ink.

Endorsements : *Carta domini Edwardi iiiij^a de feodi firma.*

(In a later hand) Edward 4 [several more words are illegible].

(In an 18th century hand) In the Exchequer

Between the Mayor, Burgesses and Commonalty of the City of Bristol
Compls.

and

Wm. Miles.

Deft.

1785.

At the execution of a commission for the examination of witnesses in this cause, this writing was produced and shewn to James Kirkpatrick and by him deposed to, at the Time of his examination to the tenth interrogatory on the plaintiffs parts.

Before us [Signed]

Thos. . . . [name undecipherable]

Francis Ward

Nathan. Winter

Thos. Jones.

A further endorsement differs from the above only in the names of the defendants, which in this case are Henry Cruger and John Miles.

C.P.R. 1461-67, 170; Seyer, *Bristol Charters*, 105 ff. Lacunae in the text have been supplied from the original Inspecimus of 28th November, 2 Richard III (1485) [*Infra*, p. 153]. There is a transcript from the Patent Roll in C.T.'s Dept. : 04383(1). See Latimer, *Calendar*, 115-117.

Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem Sciatis
<2> quod cum Henricus sextus nuper de facto et non de iure Rex Anglie quintodecimo die Marcii Anno regni sui vicesimo quarto per litteras suas patentes commiserit et concesserit Nicholao Hill tunc Maiori Ville Bristoll' et Communitati eiusdem Ville eandem
<3> villam cum suburbiis eiusdem ac cum portis fossis et muris eorundem Ville et suburbiorum necnon omnia illa terras et tementa redditus et seruicia et les Flesshehameles que Iohanna nuper

Regina Anglie tenuit ad terminum vite sue in eadem <4> Villa ex concessione domini Henrici quarti nuper de facto et non de iure similiter Regis Anglie quondam viri sui eidem nuper Regine ad eundem terminum facta simul cum domibus shopis cotagiis seldis toftis gardinis molendinis stagnis cursu aque ad <5> molendina illa decurrentis redditibus langabulis et localibus theoloniis placitis Curiis feriis mercatis quibuscumque [Curiis] in eisdem Villa et suburbiis cum omnibus finibus [exitibus] redem[pcionibus] et amerciamentis in eisdem forisfacturis adiudicatis et adiudicandis et omnibus <6> aliis iurisdiccionibus et consuetudinibus et pertineniciis Ville et suburbiorum predictorum cum pertinenciis vna cum reuersione omnium terrarum et tenementorum reddituum et seruiciorum infra procinctum Ville predictae quorumcumque tenencium ad terminum vite vel annorum per eundem Henricum sextum nuper ut predictur <7> Regem vel aliquem progenitorum suorum quondam regum Anglie vel alios quoscumque concessis vel commissis Vnde reuersio tunc eidem nuper ut predictur Regi competebat pertinebat aut spectabat quouismodo vna cum firmis et redditibus inde reseruatis Castro <8> Ville predictae et fossato eiusdem tantummodo exceptis cursum tamen aque decurrentis in predicto fossato versus molendinum subtus Castrum sicut ex antiquo consuevit cum Ripis eiusdem aque per spacium quatuor pedum in latitudine versus Castrum <9> predictum eisdem tunc Maiori et Communitati concessit habenda tenenda et occupanda omnia et singula premissa sibi et successoribus suis vsque ad finem et durante termino sexaginta annorum proxime et immediate sequentium post viginti annos in litteris predictis specificatos completos et finitos. Et vltterius <10> concesserit eisdem tunc Maiori et Communitati quod ipsi haberent sibi et successoribus suis immediate post dictos viginti annos completos et finitos durante eodem termino sexaginta annorum certas libertates franchisesias commoditates et alias res sub certa forma in predictis litteris suis specificatas Reddendo <11> inde annuatim eidem nuper ut predictur Regi Henrico sexto et heredibus suis ad Scaccarium suum post dictos viginti annos elapsos et finitos durante termino predictorum sexaginta annorum centum et duas libras quindecim solidos et sex denarios ad festa Pasche et sancti Michelis Archiangeli per equales <12> porciones Et Abbati de Tewkesbury et successoribus suis pro decimis Ville predictae quatuordecim libras et decem solidos Priori sancti Iacobi Bristoll' et successoribus suis de annuo redditu molendini Ville predictae sexaginta solidos Constabulario Castri Bristoll' et Ministris suis pro

tempore <13> existencibus videlicet Ianitori et Vigiliatoribus dicti castri et Forestario de Kyngeswode triginta et nouem libras quatuordecim solidos et sex denarios soluendos annuatim durante termino predictorum sexaginta annorum ad predictos duos anni terminos per equales porciones pro omnibus seruiciis et omnibus prout <14> in litteris illis plenius continebatur Iamque dilecti nobis nunc Maior et Communitas dicte Ville nostre Bristoll' dictas litteras prefati nuper ut premittitur Regis Henrici sexti nobis in Cancellariam nostram restituerunt cancellandas Nos restitutionem illam acceptantes eosdem nunc Maiorem et Communitatem <15> et successores suos de firma predicta ac singulis redditibus et omnibus predictis in forma predicta exoneramus et acquietamus imperpetuum per presentes ac eadem firmam redditus et onera eisdem nunc Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis remittimus et relaxamus imperpetuum per presentes Et Vltcrius de <16> gracia nostra speciali et ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris concessimus et commisimus ac tenore presencium pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est committimus prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis/et predictis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis/predictam villam nostram Bristoll' cum sub- <17> -urbiis eiusdem ac cum portis fossis et muris eorundem Ville et suburbiorum necnon omnia et omnimoda terras tenementa redditus et seruicia ac les Flesshehamels nobis infra Villam predictam ac suburbia libertatem et procinctum eiusdem pertinencia siue spectancia simul cum domibus shopis cotagiis seldis <18> toftis gardinis molendinis stagnis cursu aque ad molendina illa decurrentis redditibus langabulis et localibus theloniis placitis curiis feriis mercatis quibuscumque Curiis nobis nunc in eisdem Villa suburbiis libertate et procinctu qualitercumque pertinentibus siue spectantibus et cum omnimodis finibus exitibus redemp- <19> -cionibus et amerciamentis in eisdem forisfactis et adiudicatis et forisfiendis et adiudicandis et omnibus aliis iurisdiccionibus et consuetudinibus et pertinenciis Ville et suburbiorum predictorum cum pertinenciis vna cum reuersione omnium terrarum tenementorum reddituum et / seruiciorum infra Villam suburbia libertatem et procinctum predicta quorumcumque <20> tenencium ad terminum vite vel annorum per nos vel aliquem progenitorum nostrorum quondam Regum Anglie vel alios quoscumque concessorum vel commissorum vnde reuersio ad presens nobis competit pertinet seu spectat quouismodo et [vna cum seruiciis et] redditibus inde reseruatis [Castro] Ville predictae et fossato eiusdem <21> tantummodo exceptis cursu tamen aque decurrentis in predicto fossato versus

molendinum subtus Castrum sicut ex antiquo consuevit cum ripis eiusdem aque per spacium quatuor pedum in latitudine versus Castrum predictum quem prefatis Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac predictis Burgensibus heredibus <22> et successoribus suis tenore presencium concedimus eisdem nunc Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac eisdem Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis omnino reseruatis, habenda tenenda et occupanda omnia et singula premissa prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac prefatis Burgensibus here- <23> -dibus et successoribus suis a festo sancti Michelis vltimo preterito imperpetuum Et vltius concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris predictis eisdem nunc Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac prefatis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod ipsi imperpetuum ab eodem festo sancti Michelis habeant sibi et successoribus <24> suis omnia fines redempciones et amerciamenta necnon exitus forisfactos et forisfiendos tam omnium hominum quam omnium tenencium integre tenencium et non integre tenencium residencium et non residencium in et de feodis terris et tenementis cum suis pertinenciis ac singulis locis infra procinctum dicte ville Bristoll' et suburbiorum <25> eiusdem ac comitatum Bristoll' existencium dictis castro et fossato exceptis necnon omnia que ad nos et heredes nostros infra Villam suburbia libertatem comitatum et procinctum predicta pertinere poterunt de anno die et vasto forisfacturis et murdris in quibuscumque curiis nostris et heredum nostrorum omnes homines et tenentes <26> illos aut aliquem eorum tam coram nobis et heredibus nostris quam coram nobis et heredibus nostris in Cancellaria nostra et heredum nostrorum necnon coram Thesaurario et Baronibus nostris et heredum nostrorum de Scaccario ac coram Baronibus nostris et heredum nostrorum de Scaccario ac coram Iusticiariis nostris et heredum nostrorum itine- <27> -rantibus ad communia placita et placita foreste et eciam coram Iusticiariis nostris et heredum nostrorum de Banco ac Iusticiariis nostris et heredum nostrorum ad / assisas capiendas et gaolas deliberandas ac eciam coram Iusticiariis nostris et heredum nostrorum ad felonias transgressiones et maleficia audienda et terminanda et ad inquirenda <28> assignatis et coram Senescallo et Marescallo ac Coronatore hospicii nostri et heredum nostrorum necnon clerico mercati hospicii nostri et heredum nostrorum ac eciam coram aliis Iusticiariis et Ministris nostris et heredum nostrorum quibuscumque fines redempciones facere vel amerciari aut huiusmodi exitus et <29> murdra seu forisfacturas annum diem et vastum adiudicari vel forisfieri contigerit adeo

plene et integre sicut ea haberemus si Villam comitatum suburbia ac feoda terras tenementa et loca predicta in manu nostra retinuissemus Ita quod iidem nunc Maior et Communitas eiusdem Ville nostre Bristoll' et successores <30> sui ac predicti Burgenses heredes et successores sui a dicto festo sancti Michelis vltimo preterito imperpetuum per manus Vicecomitis Comitatus Bristoll' et Balliuorum et Ministrorum suorum fines redempciones et amerciamenta predicta ac exitus forisfacturarum in forma predicta et omnia que ad nos et dictos heredes nostros in forma predicta pertinere <31> poterunt de anno die et vasto forisfacturis et murdris de et in dicta Villa comitatu suburbiis ac feodis terris tenementis et locis predictis per extractas Scaccarii nostri et heredum nostrorum Balliuis et Ministris eorundem Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum ac predictorum Burgensium heredum et successorum suorum per manus Vicecomitis Comitatus <32> Bristoll' et successorum suorum Vicecomitum eiusdem Comitatus pro tempore existencium in quorum balliuis feoda terre tenementa et loca predicta existunt inde liberare leuare percipere et habere possint de terris tenementis possessionibus bonis et catallis eorundem hominum et tenencium sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut <33> Balliuorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum aut heredum nostrorum quorumcumque Et quod iidem nunc Maior et Communitas et successores sui ac dicti Burgenses heredes et successores sui imperpetuum habeant a dicto festo sancti Michelis vltimo preterito in villa comitatu suburbiis terris tenementis feodis et locis predictis Castro et fossato eiusdem <34> exceptis, catalla felonum et fugitiuorum catalla felonum de se catalla vtlagatorum dampnatorum et waiuiatorum Ita quod si quis hominum et tenencium predictorum aut alii in Villa comitatu suburbiis feodis et locis predictis exceptis preexceptis pro aliquo delicto vitam vel membrum debeant seu debeat amittere vel fugerint <35> aut fugerit et iudicio stare noluerint vel noluerit vel aliquod delictum fecerint seu fecerit pro quo catalla sua debeant seu debeat perdere vbicumque de eis iusticia inde fieri debeat siue in curia nostra vel heredum nostrorum coram nobis et heredibus nostris seu coram Iusticiariis et Ministris nostris vel heredum nostrorum <36> quibuscumque supradictis siue in aliis curiis sint ipsa catalla infra dictam villam comitatum suburbia libertatem et procinctum inuenienda ipsorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum et dictorum Burgensium heredum et successorum suorum a dicto festo sancti Michelis vltimo preterito imperpetuum Et liceat

Ministris ipsorum Maioris et <37> Communitatis et successorum suorum ac predictorum Burgensium heredum et successorum suorum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut aliorum Balliuorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum quorumcumque ipsos Maiorem et Communitatem et successores suos ac predictos Burgenses heredes et successores suos in <38> seisinam catallorum illorum ad ea in eorundem Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum ac ipsorum Burgensium heredum et successorum suorum vsum et proficuum retinenda ponere Et quod iidem nunc Maior et Communitas et successores sui ac predicti Burgenses heredes et successores sui imperpetuum teneant dictam Villam <39> Bristoll' cum suburbiis eiusdem terris tenementis feodis et locis predictis quibuscumque infra libertatem et procinctum eiusdem ville vna cum feriis mercatis aquis ripariis viis piscariis communiis assartis vastis et purpresturis aceciam arentacionibus et redditibus quorumcumque assartorum vastorum et purpresturarum tam temporibus progenitorum <40> nostrorum quondam regum Anglie quam nostris in omnibus locis predictis infra procinctum eorundem ville vt predictum est arentatorum et exnunc arentandorum vna cum finibus pro ingressu huiusmodi assartorum vastorum et purpresturarum sic arentatorum siue arentandorum et cum Curia Visus franciplegii hundred' wreck videlicet wrecco maris et wrecco Re- <41> -gali wayf et straif et piscibus Regalibus infra dictam villam et Comitatum ac iurisdiccione eorundem emergentibus et emergendis seu accidentibus ac aliis consuetudinibus et omnibus aliis que ad dictam Villam Comitatum suburbia et procinctum necnon terras tenementa loca et feoda predicta qualitercumque et vbicumque vt predictum est pertinebunt siue accident <42> imperpetuum Et Vltorius concessimus et per presentes concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris eisdem nunc Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac predictis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod ipsi imperpetuum a dicto festo sancti Michelis vltimo preterito habeant omnia fines redempciones exitus forisfactos fines amerciamenta <43> forisfactura et alia proficua quecumque in itineribus de foresta seu racione eorundem itinerum tam pro transgressione de viridi et venacione quam pro delicto et causis aliis quibuscumque proveniencia seu emergencia in Villa predicta Bristoll' necnon in omnibus et singulis locis et feodis infra procinctum eiusdem Ville ut predictum est. <44> Ita quod iidem nunc Maior et Communitas et successores sui ac dicti Burgenses heredes et successores sui imperpetuum ab eodem festo sancti

Michelis habeant per manus Balliuorum et ministrorum suorum fines redempciones exitus forisfactos amerciamenta forisfactura et alia proficua predicta de illis qui in et de Villa Bristoll' <45> et suburbiis eiusdem terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis infra procinctum Ville predictae fuerint Castro et fossato eiusdem Castri exceptis per extractas Iusticiariorum itinerancium de foresta et aliorum Iusticiariorum nostrorum itinerancium et heredum nostrorum in itineribus suis eisdem Balliuis et Ministris dictorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum inde <46> liberanda leuare percipere et habere possint et omnia fines redempciones exitus forisfactos et amerciamenta forisfactura et alia proficua predicta de illis qui fuerint de et in dicta villa Bristoll' et suburbiis eiusdem vt predictum est necnon terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis infra procinctum eiusdem Ville Bristoll' et suburbiorum eiusdem. <47> habeant et percipiant ad Scaccarium nostrum et heredum nostrorum per manus vicecomitis et Balliuorum libertatum in quorum balliuis fuerint sicut nos et heredes nostri ea perciperemus si ad nos et heredes nostros pertinere poterunt sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut Balliuorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque <48> si dicta Villam Comitatum suburbia ac feoda terras tenementa et loca predicta in manu nostra retinuissemus Et Vltcrius concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod iidem nunc Maior et Communitas et successores sui ac predicti Burgenses heredes et successores sui imperpetuum habeant et teneant dictam villam Bristoll' cum suburbiis <49> eiusdem necnon terras tenementa loca et feoda predicta dictis Castro et fossato exceptis a dicto festo sancti Michelis Archiangeli vltimo preterito cum franchisesiis et libertatibus eisdem qualitercumque [spectantibus] siue pertinencibus una cum finibus redempcionibus exitibus et amerciamentis catallis vtlagatorum et fugitiuorum escaetis et forisfacturis deodandorum infra <50> procinctum Ville Comitatus et suburbiorum predictorum et singula loca tam per terram quam per aquam infra libertatem et iurisdiccione[m] eorundem emergencibus et emergendis siue accidentibus cum omnibus aliis pro[ficuis ibidem] emergentibus et emergendis siue accidentibus ac eciam omnia proficua et emolum[enta t]am de punicione de [fal]so iudicio in quacumque Curia reddito et <51> reddendo quam in quacumque Curia infra procinctum Ville predictae et suburbiorum eiusdem adnullato seu adnullando necnon omnia alia proficua thesauri inventi emolumenta quocumque modo euenerint tam de forestis parcis boscis chaceis warennis stagnis viuariis mariscis moris mineris quam quibuscumque aliis <52>

rebus que infra Villam predictam Comitatum eiusdem terras tene-
 menta loca et feoda predicta vt predictum est accidere poterunt
 quouis modo aliqua prerogatiua priuilegio seu franchisesia non
 obstante quibuscumque escaetis terrarum et tenementorum futuris
 temporibus euenientibus omnino exceptis Et quod iidem nunc
 Maior [et Communitas et] (53) successores sui ac predicti Bur-
 genses heredes et successores sui imperpetuum habeant a dicto
 festo sancti Michelis vltimo preterito priuilegia libertates et emolu-
 menta seu proficua [iura et] commoditates predicta infra pro-
 cinctum dicte Ville Bristoll' [et omnia quecumque] emergenda
 [seu eis pertinencia de omnibus hominibus residentibus] (54) et
 non residentibus integre tenentibus siue non integre de omnibus
 rebus infra dicta Comitatum Villam et procinctum emergentibus
 et emergendis adeo plene et integre sicut ea nos habuerimus si
 villam predictam in manu nostra retinuissimus Reddendo [inde
 annuatim nobis et heredibus nostris ad Scaccarium nostrum a
 predicto festo sancti Michelis] (55) vltimo preterito Centum et
 duas libras quindecim solidos et sex denarios ad festa Pasche et
 sancti Michelis Archiangeli per equales porciones et Abbati de
 Theokesbury et successoribus suis pro decimis Ville predicte qua-
 tuordecim libras et [decem] solidos Priori sancti Iacobi Bristoll'
 et [successoribus suis de annuo] (56) redditu molendini Ville pre-
 dicte sexaginta solidos Constabulario Castri Bristoll' et Ministris
 suis pro tempore existencibus Videlicet Ianitori et Vigilatoribus
 dicti castri et forestario de Kyngeswode triginta et nouem libras
 quatuordecim solidos et sex denarios soluendos [annuatim ad
 predictos duos anni] terminos (57) per equales porciones pro
 omnibus seruiciis exactionibus oneribus et demandis, eo quod
 expressa mencio de vero valore annuo aut quouis alio valore seu
 [certitudine premissorum aut] eorum alicuius aut de aliis donis et
 concessionibus prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati aut prede-
 cessoribus suis per nos [vel aliquem progenitorum] (58) vel pre-
 decessorum nostrorum ante hec tempora factis in presentibus
 minime facta ex[istit aut] aliquo statuto actu ordinacione vsu
 consuetudine vel pro[uisione incontrarium] facto [ordinato
 vsitato] vel [prouiso] aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia
 quacumque non obstante In cuius rei testimonium [has
 litteras] nostras fieri fecimus (59) patentes Teste me ipso apud
 Westmonasterium duodecimo die Februarii anno regni nostri
 primo

Morland.

28th November, 2 Richard III (1484)

Letters Patent (Inspeximus) reciting and confirming those of 14th December, 1 Edward IV (1461) [supra, p. 143]; 22nd October, 1 Edward IV (1461) [supra, pp. 133 ff]; and 12th February, 1 Edward IV (1462) [supra, pp. 145 ff]. There is a note of fee "*pro decem marcis solutis in hanaperio*," besides the "*Irrotulatur*," and the official memorandum "*Examine per Thomam Barowe et Willelmum Morland clericos*." The Chancery clerk is Barowe.

The original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01226) consist of five membranes. The Great Seal (fragment) in green wax is appended to the folded bottom margin of the innermost membrane by red and blue silk cords braided through holes in the customary manner. The membranes are slightly damaged, and backed at these points with manilla paper. The initial letters in the first line are decorated with scroll-work in ink. The initial of the king's name is decorated with a cinquefoil design, and on the loop are scrolls with the words *Ricardus Tercius*. Above it is a crown, bearing upon the rim the words *Dieu et mon droit*.

P.R.O., Conf. Roll, 2 Richard III, pt. i, No. 7; Latimer, *Calendar*, 122.

22nd February, 2 Richard III (1485)

Letters Patent. First the substance of Edward IV's perpetual fee farm grant of 12th February, 1462 [supra, pp. 145 ff] is recited and confirmed. The amount of the farm payable by the Mayor and Commonalty and their successors and the Burgesses and their heirs and successors is now reduced. The king, by Letters Patent of 12th February, 1484, had granted for life to James, earl Douglas, as from Michaelmas, 1483, the sum of £200 per annum, of which £52 was to be paid out of the farm of Bristol. Also by Letters Patent of 20th October, 1484, the king had appointed Thomas Lynom his Solicitor, granting him in payment, as from 6th June, 1484, £10 sterling per annum from the farm of Bristol. Now the king, out of his special and tender affection for Bristol, and in consideration of the impoverishment of many merchants of Bristol as a result of recent losses of ships and merchandise at sea, and other causes, which make it impossible for the Mayor and Commonalty to bear the burden of the said farm, remits to them and their successors £60 per annum thereof: viz. the

£52 granted to James, earl Douglas, as soon as his interest therein shall have come to an end from whatever cause; and £8 of the £10 granted to Thomas Lynom, as from Easter next [3rd April, 1485]. The Mayor and Commonalty and their successors and the Burgesses and their heirs and successors shall thenceforth hold the town at farm for £42 15s. 6d. annually, apart from the payments due to the Abbot of Tewkesbury, the Prior of St. James's and the Constable of the Castle and his officers.

Text from the original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01227), consisting of a single membrane measuring 23 × 35 in. The Great Seal in green wax (fragment) is appended to the folded bottom margin by blue and red silk cords braided through holes in the usual manner. The capital letters in the address are decorated with a simple design in ink.

Endorsements: R 3.

A° : 2° : Rich : 3. : 22 : Feb :

Richard 3rd 1485.

Noe Use on [two words illegible]

Latimer, Calendar, 122.

Ricardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem . Cum Dominus Edwardus nuper Rex Anglie quartus Frater noster per litteras suas patentes <2> quarum datum est apud Westmonasterium duodecimo die Februarii Anno regni sui primo concesserit et commiserit pro se et heredibus suis quantum in ipso fuit tunc Maiori et Communitati ville Bristol' et successoribus suis et¹ tunc Burgensibus eiusdem heredibus et successoribus <3> suis predictam villam Bristoll' cum suburbiis eiusdem ac cum portis fossis et muris eorundem ville et suburbiorum Necnon omnia et omnimoda terras tenementa Redditus et seruicia ac les Flesshehames eidem nuper Regi infra villam predictam ac suburbia libertatem et procinctum <4> eiusdem pertinentia siue spectantia simul cum domibus schopis cotagiis seldis toftis gardinis molendinis stagnis cursu aque ad molendina illa decurrentis redditibus langabulis et localibus theoloniis placitis Curiis feriis mercatis quibuscumque et Curiis eorundem dicto nuper <5> Regi tunc in eadem villa suburbiis libertate et procinctu qualitercumque pertinencibus siue spectantibus et cum omnibus finibus exitibus redempcionibus et amercia-

¹ *ad* in MS.

mentis in eisdem tunc forisfactis et adiudicatis ac forisfaciendis et adiudicandis et omnibus aliis iurisdiccionibus et <6> consuetudinibus ville et suburbiorum predictorum cum pertinentiis vna cum reuersione omnium terrarum tenementorum reddituum et seruiciorum infra villam suburbia libertatem et procinctum predicta quorumcumque tenencium ad terminum vite vel annorum per ipsum nuper Regem siue <7> aliquem progenitorum suorum quondam Regum Anglie vel alios quoscumque concessorum vel commissorum vnde reuersio tunc ipsi nuper Regi competebat pertinebat seu spectabat quouismodo vna cum seruiciis et redditibus inde reseruatis Castro ville predictae et fossato eiusdem <8> tantummodo exceptis / cursu tamen aque decurrentis in predicto fossato versus molendinum subtus Castrum sicut ex antiquo consuevit cum ripis eiusdem aque per spacium quatuor pedum in latitudine versus castrum predictum quem prefatis Maiori et Communitati et <9> successoribus suis ac prefatis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis tenore litterarum patencium predictarum idem nuper Rex concessit eisdem tunc Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac prefatis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis omnino reseruatis habenda tenenda et occupanda omnia et singula premissa prefatis tunc <10> Maiori et successoribus suis ac prefatis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis a festo sancti Michelis tunc ultimo preterito imperpetuum Et vltius dictus nuper Rex concesserit pro se et heredibus suis predictis tunc Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac prefatis tunc Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod ipsi imperpetuum ab eodem festo sancti Michelis haberent sibi et successoribus suis omnia fines redempciones et amerciamenta necnon exitus forisfactos et tunc forisfaciendos tam omnium hominum quam omnium tenencium integre tenencium et non integre tenencium residencium et non residencium in et de feodis terris et tenementis <12> cum suis pertinentiis ac singulis locis infra procinctum dicte ville Bristoll' ac suburbus (sic) eiusdem ac Comitatum ville Bristoll' predictae existencibus dictis Castro et Fossato exceptis Necnon omnia que ad ipsum nuper Regem et heredes suos infra villam suburbia libertatem Comitatum et procinctum predicta pertinere possent de Anno die et Vasto <13> forisfacturis et murdris in quibuscumque Curiis ipsius nuper Regis et heredum suorum omnes homines et tenentes illos aut aliquem eorum tam coram domino Rege et heredibus suis quam coram se et heredibus suis in Cancellaria sua et heredum suorum necnon coram Thesaurario et Baronibus suis et heredum suorum de Scaccario

ac coram (14) Baronibus suis et heredum suorum de Scaccario ac coram Iusticiariis suis et heredum suorum itinerantibus ad communia placita et placita foreste et eciam coram Iusticiariis suis et heredum suorum de Banco ac Iusticiariis suis et heredum suorum ad assisas capiendas et gaolas deliberandas Aceciam coram Iusticiariis suis et heredum suorum (15) ad felonias transgressionum et malefacta audienda et terminanda et ad inquirenda assignatis et coram Senescallo Marescallo et Coronatore hospicii sui et heredum suorum necnon clerico mercati hospicii sui et heredum suorum Aceciam coram aliis Iusticiariis et Ministris suis et heredum suorum quibuscumque fines (16) redempciones fieri vel ameriari et huiusmodi exitus murdra seu forisfacturas annum diem et vastum adiudicari vel forisfieri contigerit adeo plene et integre sicut dictus nuper Rex ea haberet si villam Comitatum suburbia ac feoda terras tenementa et loca predicta in manu sua retinuisset. Ita quod iidem tunc Maior et Communitas eiusdem (17) ville Bristoll' et successores sui ac predicti Burgenses heredes et successores sui a dicto festo sancti Michelis tunc vltimo preterito imperpetuum per manus Vicecomitis Comitatus Bristoll' / et Balliuorum et Ministrorum suorum fines redempciones et emerciamenta (*sic*) predicta et omnia que ad ipsum nuper Regem et heredes (18) suos in forma predicta pertinere possent et consueuerunt de anno die et vasto forisfacturis et murdris de et in dicta villa Comitatu suburbiis ac feodis terris tenementis et locis predictis per extractas Scaccarii sui et heredum suorum Balliuis et Ministris eorundem tunc Maioris et Communitatis / et successorum suorum ac predictorum Burgensium heredum (19) et successorum suorum per manus Vicecomitis Comitatus Bristoll' et successorum suorum Vicecomitem Comitatus eiusdem pro tempore existencium in quorum balliuis feoda terre tenementa et loca predicta existunt inde liberanda leuare percipere et habere possent de terris tenementis possessionibus bonis catallis eorundem hominum et tenencium sine occasione vel impedimento ipsius nuper Regis (20) vel heredum suorum aut Balliuorum seu Ministrorum suorum aut heredum suorum quorumcumque Et quod iidem tunc Maior et Communitas et successores sui ac dicti Burgenses heredes et successores sui imperpetuum haberent a dicto festo sancti Michelis tunc vltimo preterito in villa Comitatu suburbiis terris tenementis feodis et locis (21) predictis Castro et fossato eiusdem exceptis / catalla felonum et fugitiuorum catalla felonum de se / catalla vtlagatorum dampnatorum et Waiuatorum Ita quod si quis hominum tenencium predictorum aut alii in villa Comitatu suburbiis

feodis et locis predictis Castro et fossato predictis exceptis pro aliquo delicto vitam vel membrum <22> deberent seu deberet amittere vel fugerent aut fugeret et iudicio stare noluerit vel noluerint vel aliquod delictum fecissent seu fecisset pro quo catalla sua deberent seu deberet perdere vbicumque de eis instancia inde fieri deberet siue in Curia ipsius nuper Regis vel heredum suorum coram se et heredibus suis seu coram Iusticiariis <23> et Ministris suis vel heredum suorum quibuscumque supradictis siue in aliis Curiis fuerint ipsa catalla infra dictam¹ villam Comitatum suburbia libertatem et procinctum tunc inuenienda essent ipsorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum ac dictorum Burgensium heredum et successorum suorum a dicto festo sancti Michelis tunc ultimo preterito <24> imperpetuum Et liceret ministris ipsorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum ac predictorum Burgensium heredum et successorum suorum sine occasione vel impedimento ipsius nuper Regis vel heredum suorum aut aliorum Balliuorum seu Ministrorum suorum vel heredum suorum quorumcumque ipsos Maiorem et Communitatem et successores suos ac <25> predictos Burgenses heredes et successores suos in seisinam catallorum illorum ad ea in eorundem Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum ac ipsorum Burgensium heredum et successorum suorum vsum et proficuum retinenda ponere Et quod iidem tunc Maior et Communitas et successores sui ac predicti tunc Burgenses heredes et successores sui imperpetuum tenerent <26> villam illam Bristoll' cum suburbiis eiusdem terris tenementis feodis et locis predictis quibuscumque infra libertatem et procinctum eiusdem ville vna cum feriis mercatis aquis Ripariis viis piscariis Communiis assertis vastis et purpresturis Aceciam arrentacionibus et redditibus quorumcumque assertarum vastis (*sic*) et purpresturarum tam temporibus progenitorum <27> suorum quondam Regum Anglie quam suis in omnibus locis predictis infra procinctum eiusdem ville vt predictum est arentatis et extunc arentandis vna cum finibus pro ingressu huiusmodi assertis vastis et purpresturis sic arentatis et cum Curiis visus franciplegii hundredi wreke videlicet wrecco maris et wrecco Regali wayf et strayf et piscibus regalibus infra <28> dictam villam et Comitatum ac iurisdictionem eorundem tunc emergentis et emergendis seu accidentibus ac aliis consuetudinibus et omnibus aliis que ad dictam villam Comitatum suburbia et procinctum necnon terra tenementa loca et feoda predicta qualitercumque et vbicumque vt predictum est pertinerent siue acciderent imperpetuum Et ulterius predictus

¹ The last four letters of the word *dictam* are written over an erasure.

nuper Rex con- (29) -cesserit pro se et heredibus suis eisdem tunc Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac predictis tunc Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod ipsi imperpetuum a dicto festo sancti Michelis tunc ultimo preterito haberent omnia fines redempciones exitus forisfactos amerciamenta forisfactura et alia proficua quecumque in itineribus de foresta seu racione eorundem itinerum (30) tam pro transgressione de viridi et venacione quam pro delictis et causis aliis quibuscumque tunc proueniencibus seu emergencibus in predicta villa Bristoll' necnon in omnibus et singulis locis et feodis infra procinctum eiusdem ville vt predictum est Ita quod iidem tunc maior et Communitas et successores sui ac dicti Burgenses heredes et successores sui imperpetuum ab eodem (31) festo sancti Michelis haberent per manus Balliuorum et ministrorum suorum fines redempciones exitus forisfactos amerciamenta forisfactura et alia proficua predicta de illis qui in et de villa Bristoll' et suburbiis eiusdem terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis infra procinctum ville predictae essent Castro et fossato eiusdem Castri exceptis per extractas Iusticiariorum itineran- (32) -cium de foresta et aliorum Iusticiariorum dicti nuper Regis itinerancium et heredum suorum in itineribus suis eisdem tunc Maiori et eorum successoribus inde liberandas leuare percipere et habere possent et omnes fines redempciones exitus forisfactos et amerciamenta forisfactura et alia proficua predicta de illis qui forent de et in dicta villa Bristoll' et suburbiis (33) eiusdem vt predictum est necnon terris tenementis locis et feodis predictis infra procinctum eiusdem ville Bristoll' et suburbia eiusdem haberent et perciperent ad Scaccarium dicti nuper Regis et heredum suorum per manus Vicecomitis et Balliuorum libertatum in quorum manibus forent sicut idem nuper Rex et heredes sui ea percepissent si ad ipsum Regem et heredes suos (34) tunc pertinere possent sine occasione vel impedimento ipsius nuper Regis vel heredum suorum seu Ministrorum suorum quorumcumque si dictam villam Comitatum suburbia ac feoda terra tenementa et loca predicta dictus nuper Rex in manu sua retinuisset Et ulterius idem nuper Rex concesserit pro se et heredibus suis quod iidem tunc Maior et Communitas et successores (35) sui ac predicti tunc Burgenses heredes et successores sui imperpetuum haberent et tenerent dictam villam Bristoll' cum suburbiis eiusdem ac terras tenementa loca et feoda predicta dicto Castro et fossato exceptis a dicto festo sancti Michelis tunc ultimo preterito cum franciplegio et libertatibus eiusdem qualitercumque tunc spectantibus siue pertinencibus vna cum (36) finibus redemp-

cionibus exitibus et amerciamentis catalla (*sic*) vtlagatorum et fugitiuorum escaetis et forisfacturis deodandorum infra procinctum ville Comitatus et suburbiorum predictorum et singulis locis tam per terram quam per aquam infra libertatem et iurisdiccione eorundem tunc emergentibus et emergendis siue accidentibus cum aliis proficuis ibidem tunc emergentibus et emergendis siue <37> accidentibus Aceciam omnia proficua et emolumenta tam de punicione de falso iudicio in quacumque Curia reddito et reddendo quam in quacumque Curia infra procinctum ville predictae et suburbiorum eiusdem adnullato seu adnullando Necnon omnia alia proficua Thesauri inuenti et emolumenta quocumque modo euenerint tam de forestis parcis <38> boscis chaceis warennis stagnis viuariis mariscis moris mineris quam quibuscumque aliis rebus que infra villam predictam Comitatum eiusdem terras tenementa loca et feoda predicta vt predictum est accidere possent quouis modo Aliqua prerogatiua priuilegio seu franchisesia non obstante quibuscumque escaetis terrarum et tenementorum tunc futuris temporibus <39> euenientibus omnino exceptis . Et quod iidem tunc Maior et Communitas et successores sui ac predicti tunc Burgenses heredes et successores sui a dicto festo sancti Michelis tunc vltimo preterito haberent imperpetuum priuilegia libertates et emolumenta seu proficua iura et commoditates predicta infra procinctum dicte ville Bristoll' et omnia proficua que- <40> -cumque tam emergensia et emergenda seu eis pertinencia de omnibus hominibus tunc residentibus integre tenentibus et non integre de omnibus rebus infra dicta Comitatum villam et procinctum tunc emergensibus et emergendis adeo plene et integre sicut ea dictus nuper Rex tunc haberet si villam predictam in manu sua tunc retinuisset / Reddendo inde annuatim <41> eidem nuper Regi et heredibus suis ad Scaccarium suum a predicto festo sancti Michelis tunc vltimo preterito Centum et duas libras quindecim solidos et sex denarios ad festa Pasche et sancti Michelis Archiangeli per equales porciones et Abbati de Tewkesbury et successoribus suis pro decimis ville predictae quatuordecim libras et decem solidos Priori <42> sancti Iacobi Bristoll' et successoribus suis de annuo redditu molendini ville predictae sexaginta solidos Et Constabulario Castri Bristoll' et ministris suis pro tempore existencibus videlicet Ianitori et vigilatoribus dicti Castri et forestario de kyn-geswode triginta et nouem libras quatuordecim solidos et sex denarios soluendos annuatim <43> ad predictos duos anni terminos per equales porciones pro omnibus seruiciis exaccionibus oneribus et demandis prout in litteris patentibus illis plenius continetur Sciatis

quod nos de gracia nostra speciali ac ex mero motu nostro litteras patentes predictas dicti fratris nostri ac omnia et singula in eisdem contenta rata habentes et grata <44> litteras patentes illas ac omnia et singula in eis contenta nunc Maiori et Communitati predictæ ville Bristoll' et successoribus suis ac nunc Burgensibus eiusdem ville heredibus et successoribus suis quantum in nobis est ratificamus approbamus et confirmamus Ac cum nos per litteras nostras patentes quarum data est duode- <45> -cimo die Februarii anno regni nostri primo certis consideracionibus in litteris illis contentis concesserimus Iacobo Comiti Douglas ducentas libras habendas et percipiendas annuatim a festo sancti Michelis Archiangeli tunc ultimo preterito pro termino vite sue modo et forma sequente videlicet quinquaginta et duas libras inde annuatim de <46> predicta firma predictæ ville Bristoll' cum suburbiis et suis pertinentiis per manus Maioris ville predictæ ac Communitatis eiusdem ville et successorum suorum ac Burgensium heredum et successorum suorum aut per manus Vicecomitis ville illius vel aliorum Receptorum ibidem pro tempore existentium ad festa Pasche et sancti Michelis Archiangeli per equales porciones <47> ac residuum eorundem ducentarum librarum certa forma in litteris patentibus illis contenta prout in litteris illis plenius continetur Quarumquidem litterarum pretextu idem Comes de dictis quinquaginta et duabus libris dicti feodi firma seisitus existit in dominico suo vt de libero tenemento Et cum nos per alias litteras nostras patentes quarum data <48> est apud Westmonasterium vicesimo die Octobris Anno regni nostri secundo certis consideracionibus in litteris patentibus illis contentis constituerimus et ordinauerimus Thomam Lynom sollicitarium nostrum de et in omnibus et singulis placitis sectis querellis et materiis nobis quoquo modo infra regnum nostrum Anglie seu alibi spectantibus seu tangentibus <49> et eidem Thome officium sollicitarii nostri tenore litterarum patencium illarum dederimus et concesserimus habendum occupandum et excercendum officium illud quamdiu nobis placeret percipiendas annuatim in et pro occupatione officii predicti a vicesimo sexto die Iunii Anno regni nostri primo decem libras sterlingorum de predicta firma predictæ ville <50> nostre Bristoll' cum suburbiis eiusdem et suis pertinentiis tam per manus Maioris ville illius et Communitatis eiusdem ville et successorum suorum ac Burgensium eiusdem ville quam per manus Vicecomitis eiusdem ville ac aliorum Receptorum ville illius pro tempore existentium seu eorum alicuius ad festa sancti Michelis Archiangeli et Pasche per equales porciones <51> prout in litteris patentibus illis plenius continetur Quarum

quidem litterarum patencium pretexto idem Thomas de dictis decem libris de feodi firma predicta possessionatus existit / Nosque considerantes villam predictam ad quam specialem et tenerem affectionem gerimus et habemus in tantam ruinam pauperitatem <52> et decasum tam ratione diuersarum amissionum nauium et mercandisarum nuper super mare peritarum et perditarum ad graue dampnum et depauperacionem multorum mercatorum dicte ville quam aliis de causis multiformiter euentis et collapsis quod Maior et Communitas ville illius onus predictae feodi firme et onerum predictorum minime subire valeant de gracia nostra <53> speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris per presentes pro nobis et heredibus nostris remittimus relaxamus et concedimus prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac predictis nunc Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis sexaginta libras annuatim imperpetuum de supradicta feodi firma Centum et duarum librarum quindecim <54> solidorum et sex denariorum videlicet tam predictas quinquaginta et duas libras de predicti feodi firma quas nos per predictas litteras nostras patentes prefato Comiti in forma predicta factas concessimus eidem Comiti vt predictum est quam octo libras annuatim de predictis decem libris quas nos per litteras nostras predictas prefato Thome Lynom <55> vt predictur factas concessimus eidem Thome Lynom habendas et percipiendas eidem Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac predictis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis per manus Vicecomitis ville predictae pro tempore existentis ac in manibus ipsorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum ac predictorum Burgensium heredum et successorum suorum retinendas videlicet <56> dictas octo libras annuatim a festo Pasche proxime futuro post datam presencium imperpetuum ac predictas quinquaginta et duas libras annuatim imperpetuum immediate postquam status predicti Comitis predictarum quinquaginta et duarum librarum sibi per predictas litteras patentes vt predictur factas et concessas ex quacumque causa inde <57> cessauerit et minime durauerit Et insuper volumus et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris prefatis Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis ac prefatis Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod tam ipsi et successores sui et eorum quilibet ac Vicecomes ville predictae pro tempore existens quam Burgenses ville illius heredes et successores sui et eorum <58> quilibet de predictis sexaginta libris annuatim de feodi firma predicta in forma predicta / videlicet tam de predictis octo libris annuatim percella predictarum decem librarum prefato Thome Lynom vt predictur concessis quam de predictis

quingenta et duabus libris prefato Comiti in forma predicta concessis erga nos heredes et successores <59> nostros in forma predicta quieti et exonerati existant et eorum quilibet existat imperpetuum Ita quod iidem Maior et Communitas et successores sui ac dicti Burgenses heredes et successores sui teneant villam predictam de nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris ad feodi firmam tantum quadraginta duarum librarum quindecim solidorum et sex denariorum vltra <60> dictas quatuordecim libras et decem solidos prefati Abbati de Tewkesbury et successoribus suis dictosque sexaginta solidos predicto Priori sancti Iacobi Bristoll^r et successoribus suis ac predictas triginta et nouem libras quatuordecim solidos et sex denarios prefatis Constabulario Ianitori vigiliatoribus et Forestario annuatim ad festa predicta vt <61> prefertur soluenda pro omnibus exaccionibus et demandis absque compoto fine seu feodo aut aliquo alio modo inde nobis vel heredibus nostris reddendo faciendo seu soluendo Eo quod expressa mencio de vero valore annuo seu aliquo alio valore premissorum aut de aliis donis vel concessionibus eisdem Maiori et Communitati vel predeces- <62> -soribus suis aut prefatis Burgensibus vel predecessoribus suis ante hec tempora factis in presentibus minime facta existit Aut aliquo statuto actu vel restriccionem incontrarium facto edito siue ordinato Aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacumque non obstante In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri <63> fecimus patentes Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo secundo die Februarii Anno regni nostri secundo

Barowe.

: per breue de priuato sigillo et de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti / et pro viginti marcis solutis in hanaperio.

Irrotulatur

Examine per Thomam Barowe et Willelmum Morland clericos

16th May, 1 Henry VIII (1509)

A Royal Pardon (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01228)¹ was wrongly attributed by Latimer (Calendar, 123-4) to Henry VII, and is listed in Bristol Charters, i. xx, as "[1486] 16 May, 1 Henry VII." The two membranes of which it consists have been very badly damaged, and a portion of the left-hand side of each torn away. There are consequently serious lacunae in

¹ For the text see *Bristol Charters*, vol. iii, which is being prepared by Mr. R. C. Latham.

the text, and the king's name is missing from the address. The following endorsements have survived: "*Carta perdonacionis Henrici Octavi 1^o*"; and "*Charter of Free Pardon from Henry 8th . . .*" (date illegible). That the charter was in fact issued by Henry VIII is borne out by internal evidence, and therefore everything that Latimer says about the occasion of this Pardon must be discounted.

5th February, 3 Henry VII (1488)

Letters Patent (Inspeximus) reciting and confirming those of 14th December, 1 Edward IV (1461) [supra, p. 143]; 22nd October, 1 Edward IV (1461) [supra, pp. 133 ff]; and 12th February, 1 Edward IV (1462) [supra, pp. 145 ff]. There is a note of fee: "pro viginti marcis solutis in hanaperio" and the departmental minute "Examine per Robertum Blakwell Johannem Bonde Clericos," besides the Irrotulatur.¹ The name of the Chancery clerk is William.

The original *Letters Patent* preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01229), consisted of five membranes. The Great Seal is missing. All the membranes are badly damaged. Only a fragment of the bottom of the outer membrane remains, and a portion is missing from the top of each of the other membranes. There is a large gash in the left-hand side of each membrane, and a large hole in the middle of each. Considerable portions of the remaining text, especially of the inmost membrane, are illegible owing to the effects of damp, etc. All the membranes have been carefully mounted on strong manilla paper, but they have been misplaced after repair, and their present order is 1 (outer), 2, 4, 3, 5.

Endorsements: (In a contemporary hand) Confirmac[i]o domini H. vij.

(In a later hand) Henry 7th 1488.

Latimer, Calendar, 127-128.

17th December, 15 Henry VII (1499)

Charter granting the following rights to the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol and their successors:—

That there shall for the future be six Aldermen, of whom the Recorder shall be one. The remaining five Aldermen shall be elected

¹ In repairing, the folded bottom margin has been covered with manilla paper, but it is possible to read the memoranda by holding it up to a strong light.

and nominated by the Mayor and Commonalty at their pleasure within a year of the date of this charter. The Recorder, on his admission to office, shall take a corporal oath before the Mayor that he will faithfully perform the duties of an Alderman so long as he remains Recorder. The other five Aldermen shall take corporal oaths before the Mayor and Recorder that they will faithfully perform the duties of Aldermen.

Collectively and individually the Aldermen shall exercise within the town and precinct of Bristol the same power and jurisdiction as the Aldermen of London exercise in the City of London. The Mayor and Aldermen for the time being or the majority of them shall have the right to depose any of the five Aldermen¹ thus elected and instituted, and to elect others in their place, chosen from among the lawful Burgesses of the town. Similarly, if an Alderman dies or otherwise vacates his office, the Mayor and the remaining Aldermen, or the majority of them, shall have power to fill his place.

The Mayor and Recorder and five Aldermen, while they are in office, shall be, collectively and severally, Keepers of the Peace and Justices of the Peace within the Town and County of Bristol, its liberties and precinct; Justices under the statutes and ordinances promulgated at Winchester, Northampton and Westminster for the conservation of the peace; Justices under the statutes and ordinances concerning traders, workmen, artificers, servitors, innkeepers, weights and measures, sale of victuals, mendicants and vagabonds or "travelyngmen"; Justices under the statutes of 1 and 2 Henry IV against livery of badges to knights, squires and valets, and other liveries of cloth; Justices under the statutes against the Lollards, and against falsification of the coinage; and under all existing and future statutes and ordinances for the maintenance of the peace of the realm. They are to be responsible for the punishment of offenders against these. They are to cause those guilty of uttering threats of bodily harm or arson against burgesses to find securities for their good behaviour, and failing such securities, to commit them to prison.

The Mayor and Recorder and the Aldermen, or a quorum of three including the Mayor or the Recorder, shall be Justices to enquire, by oath of lawful men of the Town and County of Bristol, concerning all treasons, rapes and other felonies, offences, riots, routs and unlawful assemblies, embraceries, maintenance, taking of fees from both sides, extortions, confederacies, conspiracies, regrating and forestalling within the town, its liberties and precinct, besides ambushes to commit mayhem or to slay, and maintenance in individual suits for

¹ i.e. The Recorder is exempted.

a consideration. They are to inquire into the conduct of the sheriffs, bailiffs, constables and keepers of gaols within the Town and County of Bristol in regard to their responsibilities towards artificers, victualers, mendicants and others under the statutes and ordinances above-mentioned, and into all matters connected with their enforcement. They are also authorised and required to deal with indictments under these statutes and ordinances made and taken before Justices (and Keepers) of the Peace formerly authorised by sundry Letters Patent to deal with these offences, but not yet terminated. They themselves are in future to hear and terminate such cases, whether brought at the suit of the Crown or of private individuals. Delinquents are to be punished according to their offences by fines amercements and redemptions, and by other penalties by which they may be exhibited as offenders.

The Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol are to have for their use all fines, redemptions, forfeitures and amercements imposed by the said Justices ; and the Sheriffs and other officers are to put them in possession of these. Neither the Treasurer and Barons nor the Barons of the Exchequer, nor any other royal officer or minister may bring any process against the said Justices for estreats of fines, amercements, etc. made before them to be delivered into the Exchequer. No other royal Justices may intromit in the Town and County, its liberties and precinct, or exercise any authority there under the aforesaid statutes and ordinances.

There shall be henceforth in Bristol a town Chamberlain, to be elected by the Mayor and Common Council in the Guildhall, and to hold office during their pleasure. The Chamberlain thus appointed shall take a corporal oath before the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen that he will faithfully perform the duties of his office. He shall have a seal, and his duties and authority shall be the same as those of the Chamberlain of the City of London.¹ The Chamberlain shall have the right to appear before the King, the King in Chancery, the Justices of the Common Bench, The Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, and before all Judges and Justices in whatsoever courts to sue and be sued, to answer and be answered in all actions, suits, plaints and claims, real, personal and mixed. He shall receive all revenues, income, profits and emoluments for the use of the Mayor and Commonalty, and make necessary payments, and keep all charters, evidences, bonds and muniments. He shall render account annually within one month of the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist (28th October)

¹ See *Liber Albus*, and *Memorials of London*, ed. H. T. Riley. Also *Calendars of Letter Books of the City of London*, *passim*.

in the Guildhall before the Mayor and Aldermen, or before two Burgesses appointed by the Mayor. When the Chamberlain resigns or is removed from his office he shall render an account within one month.

Bailiffs shall be elected at the same time and in the same manner as heretofore. In the event of either or both of them dying or being removed from office within the year, a new election may be held within eight days without licence being sought from the Crown. All Bailiffs shall take their oath of office after election and shall exercise the same authority as the Bailiffs have heretofore done. They shall henceforth exercise also the office of Sheriff of the County of the Town of Bristol; and within two days after their election as Bailiffs they shall take the oath as Sheriffs before the Mayor and none other, in the Guildhall and not elsewhere. They shall cause the County Court to be held monthly as heretofore; and no sheriff or other royal minister of any other shire shall enter the County, Town, precinct and liberty of Bristol to exercise any office or jurisdiction there. The Sheriffs of the County of the Town of Bristol shall make their annual proffers at the Exchequer through attorneys appointed by their letters patent, and make their payments as was done when there was only one Sheriff; and they shall likewise render their accounts through their attorneys before the Treasurer and Barons or the Barons of the Exchequer. The Sheriffs shall not be cited outside Bristol in their own persons either to render account, or for other purposes connected with their office. The Crown will direct all writs, bills, precepts, warrants and mandates concerning all actions, suits, pleas, complaints, claims, inquisitions, etc., and all lands, tenements, etc., arising within the Town of Bristol, and all contracts, debts, etc., to the Sheriffs, who shall duly execute them. In case of the death or removal from office of either or both of the Sheriffs, the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses shall appoint their successors within ten days [i.e. two days after their appointment as Bailiffs, as stated above]. The office of the Sheriff who was heretofore the sole Sheriff shall forthwith cease, but without prejudice to the ancient liberties, franchises and immunities of the Mayor and Commonalty.

The Mayor and Commonalty shall have cognizance of all pleas and complaints real, personal and mixed, and recognition of the Assizes of Novel Disseisin and Mort d'Ancestor concerning all lands, tenements, rents and tenures within the Town, suburbs and precinct of Bristol, and of all breaches of agreement, debts, contracts, complaints and claims therein, however arising or whomsoever concerning. These are to be heard and determined in the Guildhall before the Mayor and two Aldermen appointed by him for this purpose. Claims of cognizance

in such cases, made by the Mayor and Commonalty or their attorneys before the King, his Justices of Common Bench, the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, and all other Justices, in whatsoever courts arising, by writ or bill or without writ, are to be conceded by inspection of this charter, without further royal warrant or mandate addressed to the Justices.

The Mayor and two Aldermen nominated by him, with assent of the Commonalty, are authorised to elect from time to time as need arises, and continuously, forty men from among the best and most worthy citizens of the town, suburbs and precinct. These forty men, with the Mayor and two Aldermen aforesaid, shall, for the common good of the town, make regulations in connection with the ancient customs, usages and ordinances of the town when these are patently defective, or when conditions arise which have not hitherto been provided for. Further, they are authorised, for the needs of the town, to assess tallages upon all men and persons in the town, suburbs and precinct, according to their status, their misteries and their goods, etc., and to levy the same without hindrance of the Crown or its officers. The money thus raised is to remain in the custody of two Burgesses, appointed by common consent, who shall be accountable to the Mayor or to two other Burgesses appointed by him. Any persons who resist the authority of the Mayor and two Aldermen and the council of forty, or who cause opposition whereby conflict might arise between the Mayor, Aldermen and other officials whose duty it is to keep the king's peace and enforce the bye-laws of the town, are to be punished according to the nature of their offence in accordance with the law of the realm.

The Mayor and two Aldermen aforesaid shall have cognizance of all writs sought in Chancery concerning agreements, etc. between parties in respect of lands tenements and rents in Bristol, leading to a fine. These shall be heard before them in full court in the Guildhall, and fines duly made as they would be in the king's court. The Mayor and two Aldermen shall cause their estreats in such cases to be made annually under their seals, through their attorneys, on the morrow of Michaëlmass.

The Mayor shall have the power of receiving probate of wills concerning lands, tenements, rents, etc. in the town, suburbs and precinct of Bristol, made within two years of the testators' decease; such wills being proclaimed in full court and enrolled in the Court Rolls, shall be of record. The Mayor shall put them in execution in forma juris or by due process.

The Mayor and one Alderman appointed by him for the purpose

are authorised to hold all such courts and pleas and complaints as were formerly held by the Mayor and Sheriff; to hear and determine such cases, and cause due process and execution to be made through the ministers of the Court. They are to levy fines, amercements, redemptions, etc. for their use, as the Mayor and Sheriff formerly did, without any account or payment to the Crown.

The King, by Letters Patent of 4th September, 1485, had granted the office of Water Bailiff of the town of Bristol to Thomas Hoskyns, to be held in person or by deputy for life. After his death, or deprivation or removal from this office, it is to be held in perpetuity by the Mayor and Commonalty and their successors. They may appoint a Burgess to act as their deputy at the pleasure of the Mayor and Aldermen, which deputy shall be known as the Water Bailiff. Four marks of lawful English money are to be paid to the Exchequer annually at Michaelmas through the Sheriffs' attorneys for this office, without any account being rendered.

The Mayor, Recorder and five Aldermen, or a quorum of three, which shall include the Mayor and Recorder, shall be Justices of Gaol Delivery in the Town, liberty and precinct of Bristol, and shall act without the issue of further royal Letters; saving to the Crown all fines, payments, amercements, forfeitures, etc.

Text from the original charter in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01230). It consists of three membranes; the outer two measuring $31 \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ in., and the inner one 31×16 in., to the folded bottom margin of which the Great Seal in green wax (damaged) is appended by green and white silk cords interwoven with gold tinsel. The initial letters of the royal title are decorated, and the initial of the king's name is illuminated. The stem of the H has a crown superimposed, and it contains a blazon of the royal arms, with the red dragon of Wales and a hound as supporters. In the bow the king is depicted enthroned, and outside the letter (bottom right) is a small suppliant figure in a furred red robe.

Endorsements: *Carta de diuersis libertatibus per henricum septimum*

Another endorsement is totally illegible.

C.Ch.R. 1427-1516, 273. Seyer, *Bristol Charters*, 123-164. Latimer, *Calendar*, 129-134. There is a transcript of the original charter in the Great White Book (C.T.'s Dept.: 04721), ff. 237-245 b.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie
Vniuersis et singulis Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus

Ducibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis <2> Vicecomitibus Mairoibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliuis et fidelibus suis salutem Sciatis quod nos ob singularem affectionem et dilectionem quas penes Maiorem et Communitatem Ville nostre Bristoll' gerimus et habemus ac pro conseruacione pacis nostre ac sano <3> regimine et pro bono rei publice Ville et Communitatis illorum augiundo de gracia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris concessimus ac per presentes concedimus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris quantum in nobis est prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati eiusdem Ville heredibus et successoribus suis <4> quod decetero sint in dicta villa Bristoll' de tempore in tempus imperpetuum sex Aldermanni modo et forma sequentibus nominandi et eligendi creandi et preficiendi. Videlicet quod Recordator predictæ Ville Bristoll' qui nunc est Recordator Ville illius ac quilibet alius Recordator ville <5> illius pro tempore existens perpetuis futuris temporibus ac imperpetuum de tempore in tempus erit vnus dictorum Aldermannorum : et quod residui quinque Aldermanni eorundem sex Aldermannorum per Maiorem et commune Consilium Ville illius pro tempore existentes ad eorum libitum <6> infra vnum annum datam presencium proxime sequentem eligantur et nominentur : Qui quidem nunc Recordator in Aldermannum sic nominatus ac quilibet Recordator Ville illius decetero de tempore in tempus eligendus siue fiendus tempore admissionis sue in Officium <7> Recordatoris Ville illius coram Maiore eiusdem Ville pro tempore existente sacramentum prestabit corporale quod ipse quamdiu officium Recordatoris eiusdem Ville habuerit et excercuerit ibidem existens omnia et singula que ad officium Aldermanni Ville illius pertinebant <8> facienda et excercenda bene et fideliter faciet et excercebit et tam predicti quinque alii Aldermanni eiusdem Ville primo et proxime eligendi et nominandi quam quilibet alius Aldermannus eiusdem Ville imposterum eligendus siue nominandus cum exnunc electi <9> prefecti et creati fuerint sacramentum suum corporale de officio Aldermanni Ville illius bene et fideliter separatim faciendo excercendo et exequendo quamdiu in officio Aldermanni eiusdem Ville steterint ac Aldermanni Ville illius exstiterint . coram Maiore et Recordatore Ville <10> predictæ pro tempore existentibus in huiusmodi creacione nominacione eleccione et perfectione in officium Aldermanni Ville illius prestabunt et quilibet eorum prestabit ; quodque tam iidem quinque Aldermanni Ville illius exnunc primo eligendi et eorum quilibet quam quilibet alius <11> Aldermannus eiusdem Ville imposterum de tempore in tempus eligendus siue nominandus

postquam sic electi prefectorum et iurati fuerint habeant et quilibet eorum habeat infra Villam predictam et procinctum eiusdem quamdiu officium vnus Alder- (12) -mannorum dicte ville Bristoll' habuerint et excercuerint consimiles potestatem et iurisdictionem in omnibus et per omnia quales Aldermanni siue aliquis Aldermannus Ciuitatis nostre London' infra eandem Ciuitatem habent excercerent et exequentur. (13) Et volumus et concedimus per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati dicte Ville Bristoll' heredibus et successoribus suis quod Maior et Aldermanni dicte Ville Bristoll' pro tempore existentes siue eorum maior pars possit vel possint de tempore (14) in tempus perpetuis futuris temporibus per eorum discrecionem amouere et deponere aliquem vel aliquos de dictis quinque Aldermannis Ville illius pro tempore existentibus quociens quandocumque eis placuerit : et alium vel alios de probis Burgensibus eiusdem Ville loco ipsius sic amoti vel (15) ipsorum sic amotorum in Aldermannum vel Aldermannos eiusdem Ville de nouo eligere creare et preficere qui in Aldermannum vel Aldermannos Ville illius per Maiorem et Aldermannos Ville ipsius pro tempore existentes vel per eorum maiorem partem electi et nominati consimile sacra- (16) -mentum coram Maiore et Recordatore Ville illius pro tempore existentibus prestabunt modo et forma prout predicti quinque Aldermanni vt predictum est primo exnunc eligendi facient et prestabunt : Et quod quandocumque et quocienscumque aliquis Aldermannorum predictorum de tempore in tempus eligendorum et (17) nominandorum obierit seu ab huiusmodi officio suo recesserit vel ex quacumque causa ab officio Aldermanni Ville illius amotus fuerit quod extunc et tociens bene licebit Maiori et aliis Aldermannis Ville predicte pro tempore existentibus tunc superuiuentibus et remanentibus per ipsos seu maiorem partem eorum (18) alium vel alios de probioribus et circumspcctis Burgensibus eiusdem Ville loco ipsius sic decedentis recedentis vel amoti vel ipsorum sic decedentium recedentium vel amotorum in Aldermannum vel Aldermannos Ville illius eligere preficere et creare quociens opus fuerit et casus exigerit : qui (19) quidem sic ut premititur electi et prefectorum consimile sacramentum prestabunt eisdem modo et forma prout alii predicti Aldermanni extunc primo eligendi facient et prestabunt . quodque omnes et singuli Aldermanni Ville illius decetero futuris temporibus perpetuis . modo et forma predictis eligendi (20) nominandi siue preficiendi postquam in officio Aldermanni eiusdem Ville electi prefectorum et iurati fuerint habeant et quilibet eorum habeat in Villa predicta ac infra pro-

cinctum et libertatem eiusdem consimiles auctoritatem et potestatem quamdiu in officio Aldermanni Ville illius steterint aut officium <21> Aldermanni Ville illius habuerint et excercuerint quales Aldermanni Ciuitatis nostre London' infra eandem Ciuitatem habent excercent et exequentur . Et vlterius concedimus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris predictis eisdem Maiori et Communitati et successoribus <22> suis per presentes quod decetero Maior et Recordator Ville predictae qui nunc sunt et qui pro tempore erunt ac predicti quinque Aldermanni de tempore in tempus vt predictum est eligendi et eorum successores et eorum quilibet cum vt premittitur electi prefecti et creati fuerint quamdiu <23> Aldermanni Ville illius steterint et extiterint sint coniunctim et diuim Custodes ac Iusticiarii pacis nostre heredum et successorum nostrorum ac Iusticiarii nostri heredum et successorum nostrorum ad pacem nostram heredum et successorum nostrorum infra predictam villam nostram Bristoll' <24> libertatem Comitatum eiusdem Ville et procinctum eiusdem tam per terram quam per aquam conseruandam ac Iusticiarii nostri heredum et successorum nostrorum ad omnia ordinaciones et statuta apud Winton' Northampton' et Westmonasterium pro conseruacione pacis nostre necnon ad statuta et ordinaciones <25> ibidem et alibi de vendatoribus operariis artificibus seruatoribus hostelariis ponderibus mensuris vendicionibus victualium mendicantibus et vagabundis ac aliis hominibus mendicantibus qui se nominant traueylngmen ac ad statuta et ordinaciones apud Westmonasterium annis regni H[enrici] quarti nuper Regis <26> Anglie defuncti predecessoris nostri primo et secundo de liberatis signorum societatum militibus armigeris seu valettis ac aliis liberatis pannorum minime dandis nec eisdem liberatis aliquoliter vetendis . necnon ad quoddam statutum contra Lollardos in parlamento H[enrici] quinti nuper Regis <27> Anglie defuncti apud Leycestr' nuper tento editum . ac ad quoddam aliud statutum in parlamento eiusdem regis apud Westmonasterium de confectura tonsura lotura et alia falcitate monete terre nostre tento similiter editum ac ad omnia alia statuta et ordinaciones pro bono pacis ac quieta regimine <28> et gubernacione populi nostri edita ac imposterum edenda in omnibus suis articulis iuxta omnem vim formam et effectum eorundem in dicto Comitatu Ville Bristoll' ac infra eandem Villam libertatem et procinctum eiusdem tam per terram quam per aquam custodienda et custodiri facienda et ad omnes illos quos <29> contra formam ordinacionum et statutorum predictorum aut eorum alicuius delinquentes inuenerint castigandos et puniendos castigarive et

puniri faciendos prout secundum formam ordinacionum et statutorum eorundem fuerit faciendum et ad omnes illos qui aliquibus de populo nostro infra Comitatum villam et libertatem predicta minas fecerint de corporibus <30> suis vel de incendio domorum suarum ad sufficientem securitatem de pace et bono gestu suo erga nos et heredes et successores nostros pro tempore existentes et cunctum populum nostrum inueniendam coram eis per debitam legis formam venire faciendos et si huiusmodi securitatem inuenire recusauerint tunc ad¹ eos in prisonis nostris Comitatus et ville predictorum <31> quouscumque huiusmodi securitatem inuenerint saluo custodiri faciendos Volumus eciam et per presentes concedimus prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati dicte ville nostre Bristol' heredibus et successoribus suis quod dicti Maior Recordator et alii quinque Aldermanni eiusdem ville pro tempore existentes sex quinque <32> quatuor et tres eorum quorum Maior vel Recordator eiusdem ville pro tempore existens omnino erit vnus de tempore in tempus perpetuis futuris temporibus sint et erunt Iusticiarii nostri heredum et successorum nostrorum ad inquirendum per sacramentum proborum legalium hominum de Comitatu et Villa illis tam infra libertatem quam extra per <33> quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit de omnibus prodicionibus murdris raptibus mulierum et aliis felonis quibuscumque transgressionibus riotis routis conuenticulis illicitis imbraciariis manutenenciis ambidextris extorcionibus confederacionibus conspiracionibus transgressionibus regratariis et forstallariis <34> infra Comitatum Villam procinctum et libertatem predicta per quouscumque et qualitercumque factis siue perpetratis et exnunc fieri siue perpetrari contingent . et eciam de hiis qui in insidiis ad gentem nostram mahemiandam vel interficiendam iacuerint seu exnunc iacere presumpserint . et eciam de hiis qui capiciis et aliis liberatis <35> de vnica secta per consideracionem et pro manutenenciis contra defensionem ac formam aliquorum ordinacionum siue statutorum inde ante hec tempora factorum in Comitatu Villa et libertatibus predictis vsi fuerint et aliis huiusmodi capiciis et liberatis imposterum vtentibus . necnon de omnibus et singulis hiis qui infra Comitatum Villam <36> procinctum et libertatem predicta contra formam ordinacionum et statutorum predictorum seu eorum alicuius in aliquo delinquerint aut exnunc aliquid in contrarium inde attemptare presumpserint . necnon ad inquirendum de quibuscumque Vicecomitibus Balliuis Constabulariis ac Custodibus Gaolarum qui infra Comitatum Villam procinctum

¹ *ad* interlineated.

<37> et libertates predicta in execucione officiorum suorum erga
 artifices seruitores laboratores vitellarios hostellarios mendicantes
 et vagabundos et alios predictos quoscumque iuxta formam ordi-
 nationum et statutorum predictorum indebite se habuerint et
 exnunc indebite se habere presumpserint aut tepidi remissi vel
 <38> negligentes fuerint et exnunc tepidos remissos vel negligentes
 fore contigerit et de omnibus et singulis articulis et circumstanciis
 premissa omnia et singula qualitercumque concernentibus ac aliis
 contra formam ordinacionum et statutorum predictorum per quos-
 cumque et qualitercumque factis siue perpetratis et que exnunc
 ibidem fieri vel <39> attemptari contigerit plenius veritatem /
 necnon ad omnia indicammenta quecumque tam coram eisdem
 Iusticiariis nostris heredum et successorum nostrorum seu eorum
 aliquibus aut aliis nuper Custodibus pacis et Iusticiariis nostris
 aut dominorum E[dwardi] quarti E[dwardi] quinti nuper Regum
 Anglie aut R[icardi] nuper de facto et non de iure Regis Anglie
 tercii ad huiusmodi <40> transgressionem et maleficia in Comitatu
 Villa libertatibus et procinctu predictis audienda et terminanda
 assignatis virtute diuersarum litterarum patentiumstrarum aut
 dictorum dominorum E[dwardi] E[dwardi] et R[icardi] seu eorum
 alicuius eis ac aliis quibuscumque personis in Comitatu Villa liber-
 tatibus et procinctu eisdem facta capta et nondum terminata quam
 coram predictis Maiore Recor- <41> -datore et Aldermannis sex
 quinque quatuor et tribus eorum quorum Maior vel Recordator
 eiusdem ville pro tempore existens erit vnus Iusticiariis nostris
 heredum et successorum nostrorum capta vel capienda inspicienda
 ac ad processum inde ac processum versus omnes alios quos coram
 eisdem Iusticiariis nostris heredum et <42> successorum nostrorum
 de premissis vel aliquo premissorum decetero iudicari contigerit
 quousque capiantur reddantur vel vtlagantur facienda et contin-
 uanda necnon ad omnia et singula que contra formam ordinacio-
 num et statutorum predictorum seu in eneruacionem eorundem seu
 eorum alicuius infra Comitatum Villam libertatem et procinctum
 predicta facta perpetrata <43> seu attemptata fuerint et que ibidem
 imposterum fieri perpetrari seu attemptari contigerit tam ad
 sectam nostram quam aliorum quorumcumque coram eisdem
 Iusticiariis pro nobis heredibus aut successoribus nostris aut pro
 seipsis conqueri vel prosequi volencium audienda ac secundum
 legem et consuetudinem regni nostri Anglie ac iuxta formam <44>
 ordinacionum et statutorum predictorum terminanda in tam
 amplis modo et forma prout aliqui¹ alii Iusticiarii pacis nostre

¹ *aliqui* interlineated.

heredum et successorum nostrorum ac aliqui alii Iusticiarii pacis nostre heredum et successorum nostrorum alibi in aliquo Comitatu regni nostri Anglie audire et terminare possunt seu poterunt necnon transgressionem et forstall- <45> -aria predicta ac omnia alia superius ad determinanda non declarata ad sectam nostram tantum . et omnia alia que virtute aliorum ordinacionum et statutorum per Custodes pacis nostre heredum et successorum nostrorum ac Iusticiarios nostros heredum et successorum nostrorum huiusmodi discuti et terminari debent audienda et terminanda . et ad quoscumque contra <46> formam ordinacionum et statutorum predictorum seu eorum alicuius delinquentes per fines redemptiones et amerciamenta ac alio modo pro delictis suis castigandos et puniendos prout ante ordinacionem de punacione corporali huiusmodi delinquentibus pro delictis suis exhibendis factum fieri consuevit alibi infra regnum Anglie pertinent seu pertine- <47> -bunt facienda aut exercenda audienda seu terminanda . Et quod iidem Maior et Communitas heredes et successores sui imperpetuum habeant omnia ac omnimoda et singula fines redemptiones exitus forisfactos et amerciamenta coram prefatis Iusticiariis et eorum quolibet de tempore in tempus perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturis faci- <48> -enda assidenda forisfacienda et adiudicanda . Et quod bene licebit eisdem Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis de tempore in tempus quociens opus fuerit omnia et singula huiusmodi exitus forisfactos fines redemptiones et amerciamenta adiudicata et adiudicanda siue assidenda per Vicecomites aut alios ministros eiusdem Ville <49> qui nunc sunt et qui pro tempore erunt ad opus dictorum nunc Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum colligere et leuare ad seipsos in seisinam et possessionem de eisdem ponere possint prout Vicecomites Officiarii vel Ministri nostri heredum vel successorum nostrorum ea pro nobis heredibus aut successoribus nostris possunt potuissent vel <50> deberent ad opus nostrum percipere et leuare si ea predictis Maiori et Communitati et successoribus suis concessa non fuissent absque aliquo alio nobis heredibus seu successoribus nostris inde reddendo faciendo seu soluendo . Et quod nec Thesaurarius noster heredum aut successorum nostrorum <51> et Barones de Scaccario nostro heredum vel successorum nostrorum nec Barones Scaccarii nostri heredum vel successorum nostrorum nec eorum aliquis nec aliqui alii Iusticiarii Officiarii vel Ministri nostri heredum vel successorum decetero facient seu fieri facient aliquem processum seu aliquos processus versus huiusmodi Iusticiarios pacis aut aliquos seu aliquem <52> Iusticiariorum predictorum seu aliquem successorum

suorum¹ heredum vel executorum suorum vel eorum alicuius pro aliquibus extractibus suis de aliquibus finibus redempcionibus exitibus forisfactis² seu amerciamentis aut aliquibus aliis coram prefatis Iusticiariis nostris heredum aut successorum nostrorum adiudicatis forisfactis siue assessis aut imposterum adiudicandis forisfaciendis vel assidendis (53) ad aut in Scaccarium nostrum seu alibi liberandis liberarive faciendis . Et quod aliqui alii Iusticiarii pacis nostre heredum aut successorum nostrorum aut aliqui alii Iusticiarii nostri heredum aut successorum nostrorum ad aliquas ordinaciones et . statuta de premissis vel aliquo premissorum edita seu ordinata infra Villam Comitatum libertates et procinctum predicta (54) emergencia siue contingencia aut ad aliquod officium de aut pro eisdem seu eorum aliquibus ibidem excercendum faciendum seu exequendum in aliquo ibidem se non intromittant nec eorum aliquis se intromittat aut aliquam Iurisdictionem inde habeant vel excerceant . Et Vltcrius volumus et concedimus per presentes prefatis (55) nunc Maiori et Communitati dicte Ville Bristoll' heredibus et successoribus suis quod decetero sit et erit in eadem Villa perpetuis futuris temporibus vnus Camerarius Ville illius . qui quidem Camerarius et quilibet successor suus pro tempore existens de tempore in tempus modo et forma sequentibus erit eligendus nominandus et preficiendus (56) Videlicet quod Maior [et] commune consilium Ville illius pro tempore existentes ad eorum placitum quandocumque eis placuerit eligent et nominabunt in Guyldhalda Ville illius vnum de Burgensibus eiusdem Ville in Camerarium Ville illius habendum et excercendum officium illud quamdiu eisdem Maiori et communi consilio Ville illius placuerit ac quousque idem Camerarius / ab officio illo per Maiorem et commune Consilium eiusdem Ville amotus fuerit aut ab officio illo sponte recesserit vel morte preueniatur . qui quidem Camerarius sic electus nominatus et prefectus ac successores sui et eorum quilibet cum electi prefecti et creati fuerint coram Maiore Recordatore et Aldermannis (58) Ville illius pro tempore existentibus sacramentum prestabit corporale quod ipse officium Camerarii eiusdem Ville ac omnia que ad officium illud pertinebunt facienda et excercenda quamdiu officium illud habuerit et excercuerit bene et fideliter faciet excercebit et exequetur . Et quod quilibet Camerarius Ville illius decetero eligendus et nominandus cum in Camerarium (59) eiusdem Ville electus prefectus et iuratus fuerit habeat successionem perpetuam . quod que ipse et omnes succes-

¹ *suorum* interlineated.

² *forisfactis* interlineated.

sores sui imperpetuum Camerarii Ville Bristoll' nominentur et vocitentur habeantque et eorum quilibet habeat sigillum pro officio Camerarii Ville illius ac pro negociis officio Camerarii eiusdem Ville pertinentibus deseruitur. Quodque predictus Camerarius <60> primo exnunc eligendus et preficiendus ac omnes et singuli successores sui exnunc eligendi et preficiendi imperpetuum habeant et eorum quilibet habeat cum in officium Camerarii Ville illius electi prefecti et iurati fuerint consimiles auctoritatem et potestatem faciendi et excercendi ac ea omnia et singula facient et exequentur in dicta Villa Bristoll' <61> libertates et procinctum eiusdem quales ac que Camerarius Ciuitatis nostre London' infra eandem Ciuitatem facere et excercere potest aut facere seu excercere consuevit. Et quod predictus Camerarius primo exnunc eligendus et omnes successores sui imposterum eligendi imperpetuum per nomen Camerarii Ville Bristoll' tam <62> coram nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris vbicumque fuerimus ac coram nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris in Cancellaria nostra heredum et successorum nostrorum necnon coram Iusticiariis nostris heredum et successorum nostrorum de communi Banco ac coram Thesaurario et Baronibus de Scaccario nostro heredum et successorum nostrorum quam coram quibuscumque Iudicibus siue Iusticiariis nostris heredum et <63> successorum nostrorum ac quibuscumque aliis Iusticiariis siue Iudicibus in quibuscumque Curiis locis et placeis implacitentur placitare et implacitari respondere et responderi possint in quibuscumque accionibus sectis querelis et demandis realibus personalibus et mixtis. Et quod predictus Camerarius et successores sui et eorum quilibet de tempore in <64> tempus omnia et singula reuenciones prouentus proficua et emolumenta quecumque que iidem Camerarii tempore quo Camerarii Ville predictae extiterint ad vsum aut proficuum Maioris et Communitatis Ville illius receperint aut eorum aliquis receperit vel perceperit. necnon omnia et omnimoda cartas euidentias scripta obligatoria et munimenta [*End of membrane 1.*]

que iidem Camerarii pro tempore existentes durante tempore quo ipsi Camerarii Ville predictae extiterint ad vsum dictorum Maioris et Communitatis aut successorum suorum receperint seu receperit habuerint seu habuerit aut habebunt ad vsum eorundem Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum durante tempore quo ipsi officium Camerarii Ville predictae excercuerint bene et fide- <2> -liter custodiet et custodiri faciet ac prouentus reuenciones et proficua huiusmodi sic recepta ad vsum et proficuum eorundem Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum applicabunt

expendent seu persoluent ac de omnibus et singulis sic receptis et habitis bonum et fidelem compotum quolibet anno infra vnum mensem proxime post festum Sancti Luce Euangeliste in (3) Guyldhalda Ville predictæ coram Maiore et Aldermannis eiusdem Ville pro tempore existentibus vel coram duobus Burgensibus Ville predictæ ad hoc per Maiorem eiusdem Ville pro tempore existentem assignandis bene et fideliter reddent et facient . Et quod quilibet Camerarius Ville predictæ pro tempore existens qui ab officio Camerarii (4) Ville illius vt predictum est amotus fuerit aut ab officio suo recesserit infra vnum mensem proxime postquam ab officio illo amotus fuerit aut recesserit fidelem compotum de omnibus et singulis per ipsum ad vsum predictorum Maioris et Communitatis et successorum suorum receptis et habitis coram Maiore et Aldermannis predictis vel duobus (5) burgensibus vt predictum est . assignandis reddet et faciet . Concessimus insuper et per presentes concedimus prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati dicte Ville Bristoll' heredibus et successoribus suis quod omnes et singuli balliui Ville illius imposterum eligendi eligantur imperpetuum eisdem temporibus modo et forma prout ante hec tempora dudum (6) eligi creari seu fieri consueuerunt aut eorum aliquis eligi creari seu fieri consuevit . Ita quod si aliqui balliui aut aliquis balliuus Ville predictæ postquam ipse in officium balliui Ville illius electi fuerint vel electus fuerit infra annum post eorum vel eius electionem obierint vel eorum aliquis obierit vel ex quacunque causa ab officio balliui Ville illius (7) amoti fuerint vel amotus fuerit extunc predicti Maior et Communitas predictæ Ville Bristoll' heredes et successores sui pro tempore existentes infra octo dies proxime post huiusmodi mortem vel amocionem aliquorum huiusmodi balliuorum proxime sequentes eligant duos alios balliuos vel vnum alium Balliuum de Burgensibus Ville illius loco ipsorum sic¹ decedencium vel amotorum aut ipsius (8) sic decedentis vel amoti tociens quociens opus fuerit absque aliqua licencia nostri heredum aut successorum nostrorum in hac parte proinde habenda impetranda vel proseguenda . qui quidem omnes et singuli Balliui Ville illius vt predictum est imposterum eligendi prestitio primitus sacramento de officio balliui eiusdem Ville quamdiu balliui Ville illius extiterint aut officium (9) balliui eiusdem Ville habuerint excercuerint bene et fideliter faciendo excercendo et exequendo omnes et singulas ac tales et huiusmodi potestatem et auctoritatem ac iurisdiccionem in omnibus officio balliui Ville illius concernentibus habeant et habebunt ac excerceant et exequantur quales aliqui

¹ sic interlineated.

balliui Ville illius pro tempore existentes ante hec tempora habuerunt excer- <10> -cuerunt aut habere excercere et exequi vsi fuerunt aut consueuerunt . Volumus eciam et per presentes concedimus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati dicte Ville Bristoll' heredibus et successoribus suis quod omnes et singuli balliui Ville illius imposterum eligendi imperpetuum postquam ipsi in officium balliuorum <11> eiusdem Ville electi fuerint preficiantur creentur et virtute huiusmodi electionis sint immediate post eorum electionem in balliuos eiusdem Ville tam balliui Ville illius quam Vicecomites Comitatus dicte Ville Bristoll' quamdiu balliui eiusdem Ville extiterint ac officium Vicecomit[um] Comitatus Ville Bristoll' ac ea omnia que ad officium Vicecomit[um] Comitatus Ville illius pertinebunt facienda <12> excercenda et exequenda¹ in eisdem Villa Comitatu libertatibus et procinctu eiusdem facient excerceant et exequantur in tam amplis modo et forma prout aliqui alii Vicecomites alibi infra regnum nostrum Anglie facere et excercere possunt et debent seu debent . Et quod omnes et singuli Balliui Ville illius <13> imposterum eligendi infra duos dies proxime postquam ipsi in officium Balliuorum eiusdem Ville electi creati prefecti et iurati fuerint coram Maiore Ville illius pro tempore existente et non coram aliquo alio ad hoc assignando in Guyldhaldia eiusdem Ville et non alibi in forma debita <14> sacramenta prestabunt corporalia et eorum quilibet sacramentum prestabit corporale seperatim quod ipsi quamdiu Vicecomites dicti Comitatus Ville Bristoll' extiterint ea omnia et singula que ad officium Vicecomit[um] eiusdem Comitatus Ville Bristoll' pertinebunt facienda excercenda et <15> exequenda facient excercebunt et exequentur et eorum quilibet faciet excercebit et exequetur . Et quod huiusmodi Vicecomites dicti Comitatus Ville Bristoll' qui pro tempore erunt et successores sui imperpetuum postquam in officium Balliuorum Ville illius electi fuerint . et ad officium <16> Vicecomit[um] eiusdem Ville faciendum et excercendum iurati fuerint Comitatus nostros et heredum nostrorum dicti Comitatus Ville predicte in eadem Villa de mense in mensem per diem lune annuatim teneant et teneri faciant imperpetuum modo et forma prout Vicecomes noster <17> aut aliquorum Progenitorum nostrorum predicti Comitatus dicte Ville Bristoll' dum in eodem Comitatu vnus solus Vicecomes extitit ante hec tempora tenuit et tenere consuevit . Et quod iidem Vicecomites habeant omnes et huiusmodi ac tales potestatem iurisdiccionem auctoritatem <18> et libertatem ac quecumque alia que ad officium

¹ *et exequenda* interlineated.

Vicecomit[um] in eisdem Comitatu Villa libertatibus et procinctu eiusdem Ville quales et qualia aliqui alii Vicecomites nostri et heredum aut successorum nostrorum infra regnum Anglie in balliuis suis habent habebunt et habere debent seu debebunt . Et ea <19> omnia et singula que aliquis Vicecomes regni nostri Anglie in Comitatu suo facere potest poterit aut debet quoquo modo in Comitatu suo infra Villam predictam Comitatum libertates et procinctum eiusdem faciant excerceant et exequantur tociens quociens et quandocumque opus fuerit atque casus exigerit <20> et prout eis melius visum fuerit . Et quod nullus Vicecomes aut alius minister noster heredum vel successorum nostrorum alicuius alterius Comitatus nostri heredum vel successorum nostrorum dictum Comitatum Ville Bristoll' aut Villam illam procinctum aut libertates eiusdem ad aliquod officium ibidem <21> excercendum seu faciendum quouismodo ingrediatur aut aliquam Iurisdiccionem siue potestatem habeant aut eorum aliquis habeat in eisdem seu eorum aliquo aut de aliquibus in eisdem Comitatu Villa libertatibus et procinctu emergentibus siue contingentibus in aliquo se intromittant aut eorum aliquis <22> se intromittat . Et quod dicti Vicecomites dicti Comitatus Ville Bristoll' pro tempore existentes per eorum attornatos ad hoc per eorum litteras patentes deputandos profra sua quolibet anno ad Scaccarium nostrum heredum et successorum nostrorum facient ac eadem et huiusmodi profra sua solui <23> faciant eisdem modo et forma prout nuper Vicecomes noster et progenitorum nostrorum Comitatus Ville Bristoll' pro tempore existens dum vnus solus Vicecomes ibidem fuit . facere et soluere consuevit . Et quod iidem Vicecomites dicti Comitatus Ville Bristoll' et successores sui imperpetuum <24> pro tempore existentes per attornatos eorum per litteras suas patentes ad hoc deputandos et assignandos rationabilem et fidelem compotum de exitibus balliue sue ad Scaccarium predictum coram Thesaurario et Baronibus eiusdem Scaccarii aut coram Baronibus eiusdem Scaccarii pro tempore existentibus <25> reddant et faciant . Et quod omnes et singuli huiusmodi attornati de tempore in tempus pro Vicecomitibus dicti Comitatus Ville Bristoll' pro tempore existentibus ad predicta profra facienda et soluenda et Compotum reddendum vt predictum est deputandi et assignandi per eosdem Thesaurarium et <26> Barones aut per eosdem Barones pro tempore existentes iuxta vim formam et effectum eorundem deputacionis et assignacionis admittantur et eorum quilibet admittatur . Et quod nec predicti Vicecomites vt predictum est fiendi preficiendi seu creandi aut successores sui seu eorum aliquis <27> vel aliqui

ad veniendum extra Villam Bristoll' predictam ad in propriis personis suis in Scaccario nostro heredum vel successorum nostrorum aut alibi computandum de exitibus officiorum suorum aut de aliquibus ad officium Vicecomit[um] Comitatus ville Bristoll' spectantibus aliquantulum compellantur . (28) Et quod nos heredes et successores nostri omnia et singula breuia billas precepta waranta et mandata nostra heredum et successorum nostrorum que in de aut super aliquibus ac omnibus et singulis accionibus sectis placitis querelis demandis inquisicionibus presentacionibus (29) aut informacionibus versus aliquos quoscumque pro aliquibus ac omnibus et singulis aut quibuscumque terris tenementis redditibus seu possessionibus infra Villam predictam existentibus Necnon pro aliquibus ac omnibus et singulis contractibus debitis conuencionibus detencionibus (30) ac aliis rebus materiis et causis quibuscumque infra predictam Villam Bristoll' suburbia procinctum et libertates eiusdem tam per aquam quam per terram emergentibus accidentibus siue contingentibus extra aliquas ac quascumque Curias nostras vbi aliquę acciones secte (31) querele demande inquisiciones presentaciones siue informaciones prosequi seu haberi contingerint exnunc perpetuis futuris temporibus erunt dirigenda considerata adiudicanda et exequenda predictis Vicecomitibus Ville Bristoll' pro tempore existentibus imperpetuum de tempore (32) in tempus fieri et dirigi faciemus heredesque et successores nostri imperpetuum decetero fieri et dirigi facient . Qui quidem Vicecomites pro tempore existentes omnia et singula huiusmodi breuia precepta waranta et mandata eis dirigenda exequantur et exequi facient in omnibus (33) et per omnia iuxta exigenciam vim formam et effectum eorundem , Et in casu quo huiusmodi Vicecomites infra annum a tempore prefeccionis siue creacionis sue huiusmodi obierint aut eorum alter obierit aut ab officio Balliui et Vicecomitis Ville illius amoti fuerint vel eorum alter (34) amotus fuerit . quod tunc Maior Aldermanni et Burgenses Ville predictę et successores sui imperpetuum pro tempore existentes infra decem dies proxime post huiusmodi decessum amocionem vel depositionem duos alios Burgenses vel vnum alium Burgensem de seipsis (35) magis idoneos honestos et discretos in balliuos seu in¹ vnum ballium Ville Bristoll' predictę loco ipsorum sic decedencium vel amotorum aut ipsius sic decedentis siue amoti eligere preficere creareque possint et valeant modo et forma supradictis qui sic electi et prefecti vel ipse sic electus (36) et prefectus coram Maiore Aldermannis et Burgensibus Ville predictę pro tempore existi-

¹ *in* interlineated.

bus sacramentum suum prestabunt siue prestabit corporale tam ad officium balliuorum siue vnus Balliui eiusdem Ville quam officium Vicecomitum Comitatus illius Ville siue vnus <37> Vicecomitum eiusdem Comitatus pro residuo anni illius quo sic electi et prefecti fuerint bene et fideliter vt predictum est faciendum excercendum et exequendum, qui quidem balliui sic electi et eorum quilibet postquam electi et prefecti fuerint preficiantur creentur et virtute eleccionis huiusmodi <38> sint immediate post eorum electionem in balliuos Ville illius Vicecomites eiusdem Ville . et postquam ad officium Vicecomitis Ville illius excercendum vt predictum est iurati fuerint omnia et singula que ad officium Balliuorum vel balliui ville predictae ac ad officium Vicecomitum Comitatus <39> eiusdem Ville quamdiu balliui eiusdem Ville extiterint faciant et exequantur ac facere excercere et exequi poterunt et facient . Et volumus et insuper concedimus quod electio et prefecio dicti vnus Vicecomitis dicti Comitatus Ville Bristoll' que ante hec tempora fieri consueuerunt <40> ac nomen et officium eiusdem vnus Vicecomitis quamdiu dicti Balliui vt predictum est eligendi erunt Vicecomites eiusdem Comitatus Ville Bristoll' cessent et non fient . set tantum dicti duo Balliui pro tempore existentes et successores sui imperpetuum erunt duo Vicecomites Comitatus <41> eiusdem Ville modo et forma superius inde concessis , saluis semper prefatis Maiori et Communitati eorum heredibus et successoribus suis omnibus et singulis libertatibus franchisesiis et immunitatibus suis antiquitus vsitatis et approbatis preterquam libertatem habendi dictum vnum <42> tantum Vicecomitem et auctoritatem et potestatem eiusdem vnus Vicecomitis in tam amplis modo et forma vsitandis et habendis prout haberentur et vsitarentur aut habere et vti possent si presens concessio libertatum predictarum eis facta non fuisset . Concessimus eciam et per presentes <43> concedimus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris prefatis Maiori et Communitati heredibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum quod Maior et Communitas dicte Ville Bristoll' et successores sui pro tempore existentes habeant cogniciones omnium et quorumcumque placitorum et <44> querelarum tam realium et personalium quam mixtorum ac recognicionum Assisarum noue disseisine mortis antecessoris certificacionum arrainiatorum et arrainiandorum quibuscumque terris et tenementis redditibus et tenuris infra dictam Villam Bristoll' suburbia et procinctum eiusdem existentibus <45> Et eciam quorumcumque transgressionum conuencionum debitorum compotorum contractuum et querelarum necnon cuiuslibet rei et demande infra dictam Villam Bristoll'

suburbia et procinctum eiusdem qualitercumque emergentium siue contingentium quascumque personas tangencium coram Maiore <46> Ville illius pro tempore existente et successoribus suis et duobus Aldermannis dicte Ville Bristoll' pro tempore existentibus ad hoc per Maiorem eiusdem Ville pro tempore existentem assignandis et nominandis infra eandem Villam in le Guyldhall' eiusdem Ville tenenda habenda <47> et in forma iuris terminanda debiteque execucionem per eosdem Maiorem et successores suos¹ ac Aldermannos illos sic nominandos demandandam et inde fieri faciendam cuiuscumque status seu condicionis pars conquerens petens tenens vel defendens fuerit vel existat . Que quidem cognitiones ad petitiones <48> dictorum Maioris et Communitatis aut Attornatorum eorundem tam coram nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris ac coram quibuscumque Iusticiariis nostris heredum vel successorum nostrorum de communi Banco ac coram Thesaurario et Baronibus de Scaccario nostro heredum et suc- <49> cessorum nostrorum ac coram quibuscumque Iusticiariis nostris heredum et successorum nostrorum seu alibi in quibuscumque Curiis nostris heredum et successorum nostrorum vbicumque siue per breuia nostra heredum et successorum nostrorum aut per billas seu sine breuibis nostris heredum et <50> successorum nostrorum huiusmodi placita seu querelas moueri seu fore contigerit dictis Maiori et Communitati dicte² Ville Bristoll' nomine ipsorum per eosdem Iusticiarios et alios Ministros nostros heredum et successorum nostrorum Curiarum predictarum per inspeccionem carte nostre super <51> presentibus concessionibus nostris confecte allocentur et concedantur sine aliquo breui nostro heredum vel successorum nostrorum aut aliquo alio waranto precepto vel³ mandato dictis Iusticiariis aut aliis Ministris nostris heredum et Successorum nostrorum predictis directo siue diri- <52> gendo inde habendo modo quo premittitur per dictos Maiorem et duos Aldermannos Ville predicte vt predictum est ad hoc nominandos pro tempore existentes tenenda habenda terminanda debiteque⁴ execucionem demandandam et inde fieri faciendam . Vltcrius concessimus et per presentes concedimus <53> prefatis Maiori et Communitati heredibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum quod Maior dicte Ville Bristoll' et successores sui pro tempore existentes ac duo Aldermanni eiusdem Ville pro tempore existentes per Maiorem

¹ *suos* interlineated.

² *dicte* interlineated.

³ *vel* interlineated.

⁴ *debiteque* interlineated.

eiusdem Ville qui pro tempore fuerit nominandi et assignandi de assensu <54> Communitatis Ville predictæ eligere poterint successive imperpetuum de tempore in tempus quadraginta homines de melioribus et probioribus hominibus Ville Suburbiorum et procinctus eorundem quociens opus fuerit, quod si in aliquibus customis siue consuetudinibus aut ordinacionibus in dicta villa <55> Bristoll' suburbiis et procinctu eiusdem habitis et vsitatis aut de nouo emergentibus difficultates vel defectus fuerint in quibus remedium nondum est appositum in casibus antedictis iidem Maior et duo Aldermanni ad hoc vt predictum est nominandi et assignandi et quadraginta homines Ville illius pro <56> tempore existentes de communi assensu suo potestatem habeant ordinandi et stabiliendi competens remedium siue competencia remedia quod consonum fuerit vel que consona fuerint rationi et vtile vel vtilia pro Communitate predicta . Et quod dicti Maior et duo Aldermanni ad hoc vt predictum <57> est nominandi et assignandi et quadraginta homines et successores sui pro necessitatibus et proficiis dicte Ville Bristoll' suburbiorum et procinctus eiusdem de communi assensu suo super bonis omnium hominum et personarum Ville predictæ Suburbiorum et procinctus predictorum de qualibet <58> persona iuxta statum suum tam super redditibus suis quam pro misteriis et mercandis suis et aliter prout melius faciendum viderint tallagia assidere poterunt et ea leuare absque impetitione nostri heredum vel successorum nostrorum Iusticiariorum aut aliorum ministrorum nostrorum et heredum vel successorum nostrorum quorumcumque . Ita quod denarii inde peruenientes remaneant in custodia duorum proborum hominum eorundem Ville Bristoll' Suburbiorum et procinctus de communi assensu suo ad hoc eligendorum et pro necessitatibus et proficiis dictorum Ville Bristoll' Suburbiorum et <60> procinctus cum opus fuerit extra custodiam dictorum duorum hominum expendantur . qui quidem duo homines comptabiles inde erunt coram Maiore Ville predictæ pro tempore existente vel duobus aliis Burgensibus eiusdem Ville ad hoc per eundem Maiorem pro tempore existentem <61> deputandis . Et si quis de dicta Villa Bristoll' Suburbiis seu procinctu eiusdem Ville imposterum rebellis et inobediens fuerit et se concordare noluerit ordinacionibus dictorum Maioris et duorum Aldermannorum ad hoc vt predictum est nominandorum et assignandorum ac <62> quadraginta hominum predictorum qui pro tempore erunt, ac eciam si aliqui ductores societatum procuratores abettatores aut manutentores fuerint ad ducendas huiusmodi societates ad debatas et impedimenta facienda vnde

discordia inter Communitatem dicte Ville Bristoll' et <63> dictum Maiorem pro tempore existentem et duos Aldermannos vt predictum est nominandos et assignandos et alios Ministros qui pacem nostram et heredum et successorum¹ nostrorum et regimen eiusdem Ville custodienda habuerint ad faciendam debatam et discordiam super eleccione Maioris aut alterius [*End of membrane 2.*]

ministri nostri cuiuscumque dictorum Ville Suburbiorum et procinctus seu ad implendum aliquas ordinaciones que de communi assensu vt premittitur pro proficuo et necessitate dictorum Ville suburbiorum et procinctus stabilite sunt et ordinate seu ordinande statim per Maiorem et duos Alderman- <2> -nos dicte Ville Bristoll' vt predictum est nominandos et assignandos pro tempore existentes iuxta quantitatem et qualitatem delicti secundum legem et consuetudinem dicti regni nostri Anglie modo debito castigentur . Et quod quecumque breuia siue de conuencione siue alia inter <3> aliquas partes de aliquibus seu quibuscumque terris tenementis seu redditibus et aliis tenuris in eadem Villa Bristoll' suburbiis et procinctu eiusdem existentibus ad finem inde leuandam imposterum in Cancellaria nostra heredum vel successorum nostrorum impetrata vel impetranda fuerint : Maior <4> eiusdem Ville pro tempore existens et successores sui ac duo Aldermanni eiusdem Ville pro tempore existentes cognacionem inde habeant ac coram eis in plena Curia in le Guyldehall' dicte Ville Bristoll' tenenda finis inde vigore cuiuslibet breuis huiusmodi pro summa pecunie rationabili per presentes <5> illas prout moris est pro licencia concordandi ad opus nostrum et heredum nostrorum soluenda . debito iuris ordine seruato . leuetur . et inde ibidem sicut in Curia nostra de finibus in eadem leuatis execucio plena fiat . Ita quod dicti Maior et successores sui pro tempore existentes et duo Aldermanni <6> Ville predicte pro tempore existentes extractus suos in hac parte quolibet anno in Crastino sancti Michelis sub sigillis suis ad Scaccarium nostrum heredum et successorum nostrorum per attornatos suos liberari faciant . Et quod iidem Maior eiusdem Ville et Successores sui imperpetuum habeant <7> potestatem recipiendi probaciones testamentorum de terris tenementis redditibus et tenuris infra dictam Villam Bristoll' Suburbia et procinctum eiusdem legatis infra biennium post mortem Testatoris inde . Ita quod huiusmodi testamenta et legata proclamata in plena Curia de le <8> Guyldehall' dicte Ville Bristoll' et in rotulis eiusdem Curie irrotulata post huiusmodi proclamacionem et irrotulamentum sint de recordo . Et habeant extunc iidem Maior et successores sui

¹ *successorum* interlineated.

potestatem ponendi legata predicta in execucionem per Ministros suos in forma iuris vel per debitum processum <9> coram ipsis faciendum per breue ex graui querela ad prosecucionem et electionem cuiuscumque proinde prosequi volentis . Et vltcrius volumus ac per presentes concedimus pro nobis heredibus et Successoribus nostris prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati dicte Ville Bristoll' <10> et Successoribus suis quod Maior et vnus Aldermannus Ville illius pro tempore existens per Maiorem Ville illius pro tempore existentem de tempore in tempus ad hoc nominandus imperpetuum habeant et teneant ac coram eisdem Maiore et Aldermanno sic nominato habere <11> et tenere possint talem et huiusmodi Curiam ac omnia et omnimoda ac talia et huiusmodi placita et querelas de omnibus ac quibuscumque transgressionibus conuencionibus ac aliis quibuscumque materiis causis et demandis infra Villam pre-nominatam et libertates predictas decetero emergentibus <12> et contingentibus et conuencionem eorundem qualia coram Maiore et Vicecomite eiusdem Ville pro tempore existentibus in Curia Maioris et Vicecomitis eiusdem Ville pro tempore existencium ante hec vsi fuerunt et consueuerunt haberi et teneri . Et quod iidem Maior et <13> vnus Aldermannus Ville illius sic nominatus pro tempore existentes imperpetuum habeant auctoritatem et potestatem coram eis in huiusmodi Curiis suis habendi tenendi audiendi et terminandi omnia et quecumque huiusmodi placita et querelas talibus et huiusmodi modo et forma <14> prout Maior et Vicecomes eiusdem Ville pro tempore existentes hactenus vsi fuerunt habere tenere audire et terminare ac omnia eadem placita et querelas necnon processus et execuciones super inde fiendos per huiusmodi Ministros Curie exequantur et exequi faciant de tempore in <15> tempus eisdem modo et forma prout dicti Maior et Vicecomes Ville illius pro tempore existentes huiusmodi placita et querelas ac processus et execuciones super huiusmodi placitis et querelis factis facere et exequi vsi fuerunt et facere consueuerunt . Et quod iidem Maior et <16> Aldermannus sic nominatus pro tempore existentes et eorum successores imperpetuum habeant percipiant ac ad vsum et opus Maioris et Communitatis Ville predictæ pro tempore existencium habere et leuare poterunt omnia et omnimoda exitus¹ fines amerciamenta et redempciones coram <17> eisdem Maiore et vno Aldermanno Ville predictæ pro tempore existentibus sic nominando de tempore in tempus forisfacienda fienda assidenda siue adiudicanda eisdem ac huiusmodi modo et forma prout Maior et Vicecomes eiusdem Ville pro tempore existentes huiusmodi

¹ *exitus* interlineated.

exitus <18> fines amerciamenta et redempciones coram eis in huiusmodi placitis et querelis forisfacta . assessa . et adiudicata habere percipere et ad eorum opus leuare vsi fuerunt et consueuerunt absque aliquo compoto aut aliquo alio nobis heredibus vel successoribus nostris proinde reddendo <19> fiendo vel soluendo . Cumque eciam nos per alias litteras nostras patentes Datas apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto die Septembris Anno regni nostri primo dederimus et concesserimus dilecto subdito nostro Thome Hoskyns Officium Balliui aque Ville nostre <20> Bristoll' habendum et occupandum dictum officium per se vel per deputatum suum sufficientem pro termino Vite sue:¹ prout in eisdem litteris plenius continetur . Nos nunc ex munificencia nostra regia concessimus et per presentes concedimus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus <21> nostris prefatis nunc Maiori et Communitati heredibus et successoribus suis quod . quandocumque dictum officium Balliui Aque per mortem resignacionem priuacionem sursum reddicionem dimissionem seu alias quandocumque primo et proxime vacare contigerit ac quandocumque dictus <22> Balliuus aque Ville Bristoll' vulgariter nuncupatus Waterbayle obierit vel ab exercicio officii Balliui aque eiusdem Ville cessauerit aut ex quacumque causa ab officio illo amotus fuerit . quod extunc predicti nunc Maior et Communitas dicte Ville Bristoll' et successores sui imperpetuum <23> erunt Balliuus aque dicte Ville Bristoll' et habeant sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum dictum officium Balliui / aque ibidem vulgariter nuncupatum the Office of the Waterbaylyff of Bristowe . Et quod iidem Maior Communitas et successores sui imperpetuum habeant <24> auctoritatem et potestatem de tempore in tempus quociens opus fuerit ad eorum libitum ordinandi et constituendi vnum de Burgensibus eiusdem Ville Ballium aque ibidem et ipsum constituere facere assignare et deputare ad et in dictum officium balliui aque infra dictam Villam et <25> portum Bristoll' suburbia libertates et procinctum eiusdem et omnia ad officium illud pertinencia faciendum excercendum et exequendum, Qui quidem ad officium illud excercendum et exequendum sic nominatus ordinatus et deputatus et decetero de tempore in tempus nominandus <26> ordinandus et deputandus quamdiu eisdem Maiori et Aldermannis Ville illius pro tempore existentibus placuerit erit et nominetur Balliuus aque ibidem alias Waterbaylyff eiusdem Ville et ea omnia et singula que ad officium balliui aque ibidem pertinent seu pertinebunt facienda <27> et excercenda durante tempore quo Balliuus aque Ville illius erit et

¹ *sue* interlineated.

extiterit faciet excercebit et exequetur / percipiendo in et pro predicto Officio excercendo tam predicti nunc Maior et Communitas dicte Ville Bristoll' et successores sui quam quilibet alius per Maiorem dicte Ville <28> Bristoll' et Communitatem eiusdem Ville pro tempore existentes ad officium Balliui aque eiusdem Ville et vt predictum est nominandus et constituendus vadia feoda et omnia alia proficua commoditates et emolumenta dicto officio debita et ab antiquo consueta seu aliquo modo pertinencia . reddendo <29> nobis et heredibus nostris ad Scaccarium nostrum quatuor marcas legalis monete Anglie annuatim ad festum sancti Michelis Archiangeli per manus attornatorum dictorum Vicecomitum Comitatus Ville predictae pro tempore existencium ad Scaccarium nostrum heredum et successorum nostrorum <30> soluendas absque aliquo compoto aut aliquo alio preterquam dictum redditum quatuor marcarum vt predictum est soluendum pro eodem officio aut pro aliquibus commoditatibus aut proficuis siue aliquibus aliis eidem officio qualitercumque pertinentibus nobis aut heredibus nostris reddendo seu faciendo . <31> Insuper concessimus et per presentes concedimus predictis Maiori et Communitati quod Maior et Recordator et predicti quinque Aldermanni pro tempore existentes et successores sui imperpetuum sex quinque quatuor et tres eorum quorum Maior et Recordator eiusdem Ville pro tempore <32> existentes erunt duo . sint Iusticiarii nostri heredum et successorum nostrorum ad omnes prisiones in gaolis siue prisonis nostris infra predictam Villam Bristoll' libertates et procinctum eiusdem de tempore in tempus quociens opus fuerit secundum legem et consuetudinem regni <33> nostri Anglie absque aliis litteris Regiis habendis deliberandos Et quod Maior Ville predictae¹ pro tempore existens et Successores sui pro tempore existentes quamdiu Maiores Ville predictae extiterint . Recordator eiusdem Ville pro tempore existens quamdiu Recordator Ville illius <34> extiterit ac predicti quinque Aldermanni et Successores sui quamdiu Aldermanni eiusdem Ville extiterint sex quinque quatuor et tres eorum quorum Maior et Recordator pro tempore existentes erunt duo habeant decetero imperpetuum de tempore in tempus quociens opus <35> fuerit in omnibus tot et tales auctoritatem et potestatem infra Villam predictam Suburbia et procinctum eiusdem ea omnia et singula infra eandem Villam Suburbia et procinctum predicta ac eisdem modo et forma faciendi excercendi et exequendi quot quales aliqui <36> alii Iusticiarii ad aliquas Gaolas seu Gaolam deliberandas habent excercant et exequantur vel habere excercere et exequi

¹ *predictae* interlineated.

debebunt vel poterunt alibi infra regnum nostrum predictum .
 Saluis semper nobis et heredibus nostris omnibus et singulis finibus
 exitibus et amerciamentis forisfacturis et aliis proficuis coram dictis
 Iusticiariis ad gaolam dicte <37> Ville deliberandam et eorum
 quolibet faciendis assidendis afferendis forisfaciendis siue adiudi-
 candis . Eo quod expressa mencio de vero valore annuo aut de
 aliquo alio valore siue certitudine predictorum libertatum aut
 aliquorum premissorum siue alicuius eorum aut de aliis donis siue
 concessionibus per nos vel aliquos seu aliquem progenitorum siue
 predecessorum nostrorum de premissis siue de <38> aliquo vel
 aliquibus premissorum prefatis Maiori et Communitati seu prede-
 cessoribus suis ante hec tempora factis aut aliquo statuto actu
 ordinacione siue prouisione inde in contrarium edito ordinato siue
 prouiso aut aliqua alia materia re vel causa quacumque non
 obstante Hiis testibus Precarissimo Primogenito nostro <39>
 Arthuro Principe Wallie Duce Cornubie et Comite Cestrie . Reue-
 rendissimoque in Christo patre Iohanne Cardinale Archiepiscopo
 Cantuariensi Cancellario nostro Anglie . ac Carissimo Secundo-
 genito nostro Henrico Duce Eboraci Marescallo Anglie . Venera-
 bili atque in Christo patre <40> Ricardo Episcopo Dunelmensi
 Custode priuati Sigilli nostri . aceciam Carissimis Consanguineis
 nostris Iohanne Oxonie Magno Camerario ac Admirallo Anglie . et
 Thoma Arundell' . Comitibus . necnon dilectis et fidelibus nostris
 Roberto Willoughby de Broke Milite <41> Senescallo hospicii nostri
 . Egidio Daubeney de Daubeney Milite Camerario hospicii nostri .
 Reginaldo Bray . et Ricardo Guldeford' Contrarotulatore hospicii
 nostri . Militibus . et aliis . Data per manum nostram apud
 Knoll' decimo septimo die Decembris Anno <42> regni nostri
 quintodecimo ;,

Clerk.

: per breue de priuato sigillo et de data predicta auctoritate parla-
 menti /

Irrotulatur.

18th August, 15 Richard II (1392)

*Letters Patent confirming an Indenture made at the Guildhall on
 16th June, 1391, between Thomas Knap', Mayor, and the Common-
 alty of Bristol of the one part, and Nicholas Saltford, Prior, and
 the Convent of the Dominican Friary of Bristol, with the assent
 of the Provincial of the Order, of the other part. The Prior and Con-
 vent are to have a water-pipe or "feather" of the size of a swan's*

feather,¹ issuing at the Barres from a pipe belonging to the Commonalty, which runs from the vicinity of the mill called "Glaspelmull" into the Keypipe of the town. The Friars shall never be required to make any contribution towards the cost of maintaining the town conduit from which their "feather" issues, but they shall have a sufficient supply of water from the town pipe, flowing into a barrel at the Barres, over which they are to construct a stone canopy. The Mayor and Commonalty are to receive from the Friars in exchange the conduit and spring called Pennywell, and all the lead pipes running therefrom to the garden of the Convent, which they recently had of the gift of king Richard II,² at an annual rent of twelve pence sterling. In the event of any default on the part of the Mayor and Commonalty which may deprive the Friars and their successors of the full use of their "feather," the Mayor and Commonalty shall, at their own expense, restore to them the conduit, spring and lead pipes in as good condition as when they received them; while in the event of a similar default on the part of the Friars, the "feather," together with the stone canopy and its appurtenances shall be restored to the Mayor and Commonalty and their successors, and the pipe cut off.

Text from the original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01252 (1)), consisting of a single membrane measuring $17 \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in., to the folded bottom margin of which the Great Seal (well preserved) is attached by red and blue silk cords braided through holes in the usual manner.

Endorsements: *De fistula vocata a fether conductus Aque concessa Fratribus predicatoribus tempore R. Ricardi Secundi.*

(In a later hand) penny well /

C.P.R. 1388-92, 479-480. There are transcripts in the Great White Book (C.T.'s Dept.: 04721) and the Great Red Book (C.T.'s Dept.: 04719). The latter text is printed by E. W. W. Veale in *The Great Red Book of Bristol* (B.R.S. Publications, vol. viii), 192-195. See also Latimer, *Calendar*, 85-86.

Ricardus Dei Gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes Littere peruenerint: salutem Inspeximus quandam compositionem Indenta- <2> -tam nuper factam inter Thomam Knap' Maiorem ville Bristoll' et Communitatem

¹ The size of pipe intended is rather vague, and a marginal note and obscure cipher in the Great Red Book do little to elucidate the matter. It was, however, customary to attach a small portion of silver tubing of the required diameter to documents of this kind. See John Evans, *History of Bristol* (Bristol, 1824), 339 and note.

² The Dominicans obtained a licence in 1232 to have a conduit of water from Pennywell to their House, and this was confirmed by Richard II in 1384. See C.P.R. 1232-47, 6 and 1381-5, 457.

eiusdem ville ex parte vna et Nicholaum Saltford Priorem domus ordinis fratrum <3> predicatorum ville predicte et eiusdem loci Conuentum ex assensu Prouincialis dicti ordinis ex parte altera imperpetuum duraturam in hec verba ; Hec est compositio inden- <4> -tata facta inter Thomam Knap' Maiorem ville Bristoll' et communitatem eiusdem ville ex parte vna et Nicholaum Saltford' Priorem domus Fratrum ordinis <5> predicatorum ville predicte et eiusdem loci Conuentum ex assensu Prouincialis dicti ordinis ex parte altera imperpetuum duratura ; testatur quod predicti Maior et Communitas <6> dederunt et concesserunt Priori et Fratribus predictis vnam Fistulam vocatam Fether de eadem magnitudine vnus penne Cigni assise sicut vnquam antea fieri <7> consuevit exeuntem de medio pipe Communitatis iuxta les Barres cuius capud¹ est iuxta Molendinum vocatum Glaspelmull' et aqua Fontis pipe predicte currit per <8> conductum dicti Communitatis vsque ad le keyepipe ville predicte quam quidem Fistulam vocatam Fether predicti Fratres et successores sui habebunt pro aisiamento aque domus predictorum Fratrum adeo <9> libere et integre sicut vnquam antea eam possidebant / Ita tamen quod predicti Fratres nec eorum successores non onerentur nec coharcentur aliquid soluere pro expensis dicti conductus . set predicti Maior Communitas <10> et eorum successores supportabunt omnia onera et expensas circa reparacionem et facturam conductus predicti Ita quod predicti Fratres et eorum successores habeant aquam sufficientem et currentem de dicta pipa Communitatis predicte <11> iuxta les Barres vsque in vnum Barellum quod est ibidem factum absque aliquo defectu et sine fraude ex parte Maioris et Communitatis predictorum sicut antea vti consuevit et desuper dictum barellum <12> erit vna archa petre constructa ad expensas Fratrum predictorum habendam et tenendam predictam Fistulam vocatam Fether ; predictis Priori et Conuentui et successoribus suis imperpetuum Pro qua quidem Fistula <13> vocata Fether predicti Prior et Conuentus ex assensu Prouincialis dicti ordinis dederunt et concesserunt dictis Maiori et Communitati et eorum successoribus imperpetuum conductum suum cum Fonte vocato Peny - <14> - well' cum omnibus fistulis plumbeis iacentibus a dicto Fonte de Penywell vsque ad Gardinum dictorum Fratrum et omnibus suis pertinenciis in escambium pro Fistula vocata le Fether predicta Reddendo inde annuatim <15> Priori sancti Jacobi Bristollie qui pro tempore fuerit et successoribus suis duodecim denarios sterlingorum / quem quidem Fontem predicti Fratres nuper habuerunt

¹ *capud* in the M.S.

ex dono et concessione illustrissimi domini <16> Regis Ricardi secundi Et si contingat imposterum quod predicti Prior et Conuentus Fratrum predicatorum prouincialis seu eorum successores in aliquo impediantur ita quod pacifice habere et gaudere non poterint Fistulam <17> vocatam Fether' predictam cum archa et suis pertinentiis predictis in omnibus sicut predictum est absque aliqua cauillacione vel defectu ex parte Maioris et Comunitalis et successorum suorum predictorum ; quod extunc predicti Fratres et success - <18> - sores sui rehabebunt dictum conductum cum Fonte vocato Penywel' cum omnibus Fistulis plumbeis et aliis suis pertinentiis in adeo bono statu ad custas et expensas predictorum Maioris et Commitatis et successorum <19> suorum sicut predicti Maior et Communitas ea receperunt die confeccionis presencium vt in pristinum statum suum / Pretereā consimili modo si contingat quod predicti Maior et Communitas et successores sui imposterum <20> impediantur ita quod pacifice habere et gaudere non poterunt dictum conductum cum Fonte vocato Penywel' et suis omnibus pertinentiis vt predictum est absque aliqua cauillacione vel defectu ex parte dictorum Fratrum <21> Prouincialis et successorum suorum quod extunc predicti Maior et Communitas et eorum successores rehabebunt Fistulam predictam vocatam Fether' cum archa et suis omnibus pertinentiis quiete de predictis Priori prouinciali et <22> Conuentu et successoribus suis imperpetuum et quod extunc Fistula predicta abscindatur et ab eis totaliter infuturum tollatur In cuius rei testimonium vni parti huius Indenturae penes dictos Priorem et Conuentum remanenti <23> predicti Maior et Communitas sigillum suum communem apposuerunt Alteri vero parti huius indenturae penes dictos Maiorem et Communitatem remanenti predicti Prior et Conuentus sigillum suum communem apposuerunt Data in Gilhalda <24> Bristollie sextodecimo die Iunii anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum quatuordecimo Nos autem donaciones et concessiones supradictas ratas habentes et gratas, eas secundum effectum et tenorem <25> concordie et indenture predictarum pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est tenore presencium concedimus et confirmamus imperpetuum Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam <26> non ponendis edito non obstante In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium decimo octauo die Augusti Anno regni <27> nostri quintodecimo

Gaunstede

*dupplicatur**per breue de priuato sigillo*

27th March, 1 Henry VIII (1510)¹

Letters Patent (Inspeximus) reciting and confirming the following gifts to the Master and Brethren of the House or Hospital of St. Mark, Bristol:—

(1) Letters Patent of 16th September, 4 Edward II (1311), granting Licence in Mortmain (in consideration of a fine made by the Prior of the Hospital of St John the Baptist in Wells) to William, Master of the House of St Mark by Bristol to renounce claim of possession in a messuage with its appurtenances in Wells, now held by the said Prior. The Prior is licenced to burden the said messuage with the sum of fifteen shillings to be paid annually to the said Master and his successors by the Prior and his successors or by whomsoever the said messuage comes to be possessed.

(2) Letters Patent of 3rd February, 14 Edward III (1340) granting Licence in Mortmain (in consideration of a fine made by him) to Robert Gyene² of Bristol, to alienate one messuage and two acres of land with their appurtenances in the suburb of Bristol to the Master and Brethren of the House of St Mark of Billeswick by Bristol, for the provision of a regular chaplain and Brother of the House to pray in the church of the House for the health of the said Robert while he lives, and to say masses for his soul when he dies, and for the souls of his late wife Margaret, and of Vincent of Barnstaple, and all faithful departed. Licence is granted to the Master and Brethren to receive the messuage and land, saving to the overlords of the fee the accustomed services due therefrom. The Letters Patent are attested by Edward Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, "Custos" of England (i.e. the Black Prince), at Kennington.

(3) Charter of 20 July, 31 Henry III (1247), generally addressed, granting to the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St Mark of Billeswick by Bristol, and their successors, free warren in all their demesne lands of Pawlett and Stockland. None may enter there to hunt or to take anything pertaining to the warren without their licence, upon pain of £10 forfeiture to the king. Witnesses: Ralph fitz Nicholas, Paulinus Peverel, William de Say, Robert de Muscegras,

¹ These Letters Patent are wrongly assigned in vol. i, p. xx, to Henry VI. They are, however, printed here because the charters which they recite all belong to the medieval period. They came into the possession of the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol by virtue of their purchase of Gaunt's Estate from Henry VIII in 1541. They do not therefore belong to the series of medieval grants to Bristol; but their contents are of importance and interest in local history.

² Robert Gyen was Bailiff of Bristol in 1327 and 1328, and Mayor in 1346, 1347 and 1350.

William de Syvag', William de Beaumont, Robert de Norreys, John de Geres and others, at Marlborough.

(4) Charter of 25th July, 41 Henry III (1257), generally addressed, granting to Henry de Gaunt, Master of the House of St Mark of Billeswick in the suburb of Bristol, and his successors, a fair at their manor of Pawlett, in Somerset, for three days annually, namely on the vigil, the day and the morrow of the Decollation of St John the Baptist (28th, 29th, 30th August), provided that it shall not injure neighbouring fairs. Witnesses: Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England. John du Plessis, earl of Warwick, Robert Waleraund, William de Grey, Imbert Pugeis, Walter de Merton, William de Saint Ermine, Bartholomew Bigod, William Gernun and others, at Coventry.

(5) Charter (*Inspeximus*) of 1 May, 6 Edward II (1313), generally addressed, reciting and confirming the following:—

(a) Charter (Confirmation) of 18th November, 17 Henry III (1232), generally addressed, confirming to St Mary and St Mark and the Master of the Almshouse of Billeswick:—The gift by Robert de Gurnay of the manor of Pawlett with its appurtenances for the sustentation of a Master and three chaplains to say masses for the faithful, and to feed the poor daily; and of the mills of Ware and Radwick and their appurtenances, and four marks-worth of rent with their appurtenances, and the houses which the said Robert had in Billeswick with their appurtenances. The gift by Andrew Luterel of the manor of Stockland with all its appurtenances. The gift by Maurice de Gaunt of the suit of Stockland pertaining to the Hundred of Cannington. Witnesses: Peter, bishop of Winchester, John, earl of Huntingdon, John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln and constable of Chester, Stephen de Segrave, justiciar, Ralph fitzNicholas, Godfrey de Crantun', William fitzWarin, Henry de Capella, and others, per Ralph, bishop of Chichester, chancellor, at Northampton.

(b) Charter (*Inspeximus*) of 30th May, 18 Edward I (1290), generally addressed, reciting and confirming his own charter of 25th October, 1268, issued before he became king, granting to the Master and Brethren of the church of St Mark of Billeswick by Bristol his manor of Winterbourne Gunner, which he had of the king's gift, in free alms, for the sustentation of the poor. Witnesses: Thomas de Clare, Robert Agillon, Roger de Leyburn, Robert Waleraund, Robert Tybetot, Payn de Chaworth, Hugh fitz-Otto, John de la Lynde, and others, at Westminster. The charter

of confirmation of 1290 is attested by : John, bishop of Winchester, Robert, bishop of Bath and Wells, chancellor, Anthony, bishop of Durham, Edmund the king's brother, William de Valence, his uncle, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, Richard de Bosco and others at Westminster.

(c) The following gifts are also confirmed : The gift by Alexander Daundo of all his land and wood called Halfbarwe with its appurtenances in the manor of Aychton . The gift by Idonia Gaunsel, who was the wife of Richard the huntsman, of all the land and tenements which she had or could have in la Lee and Hanedon and Hogeston, and the land called Sturte in Gete with all its appurtenances, both in advowson of the chapels of la Lee and Erdecote and in demesnal rights, villeinages, rents, escheats, custody of children, services and all her rights therein. The gift by Richard Curteys, son and heir of Richard Curteys of Bristol, of all his meadow called Wambrook and its appurtenances, and all the rights and claims of ownership which he had or could have therein. The gift by William Canvell of all his tenement which he had of John le Grun, to wit Deliaumeur and Linagan with its appurtenances.

Witnesses : Walter, bishop of Worcester, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Aymar of Valence, earl of Pembroke, John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, Hugh le Despenser, Robert fitzPayn, Edmund de Maulay, steward of the Household, and others at Westminster.

(6) Letters Patent of 7th February, 8 Edward II (1315), granting Licence in Mortmain to the Master of the House of St Mark of Bristol (in consideration of a fine made by him) to appropriate the church of Stockland, the advowson of which is his.

(7) Letters Patent of 8th September, 20 Edward II (1326), granting Licence in Mortmain (subsequent to an Inquisition Ad Quod Dampnum made by Robert de Bilkemore, escheator of the shires of Somerset, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall) to the Master and Brethren of the House of St Mark by Bristol to receive from John, bishop of Bath and Wells, the advowson of the church of Overstarweye in exchange for eighty acres of moor, the site of a mill, with its dam and millstream and its appurtenances, in Compton, Cheddar and Netherwere. The advowson of the said church is to be held of the Crown in chief, as pertaining to the See of Bath and Wells, and the true value of the church is ten marks per annum. The moor is to be held of the bishop by reason of his manors of Compton and Cheddar, which he holds of the Crown as parcel of the king's barony, and is worth one hundred

shillings annually. The site of the mill, with its dam, millstream and suit, are to be held of others as well as of the king in free alms, and are worth in all profits one hundred shillings annually.

(8) Letters Patent (*Inspeximus*) of 6th May, 6 Henry IV (1405), reciting, and confirming to William Lane, Master, and the Brethren of the House or Hospital of St Mark of Bristol, a charter of Robert¹ son of Robert, earl of Gloucester, the son of the king [Henry I], addressed to his father, and to all his friends and men, French and English. He grants to Robert fitzHarding and his heirs the whole vill of Pawlett for fifteen librates of land, and that of Bure for one hundred solidates of land, with toll, team, sac and soc and infangthief, to be held in fee. If he is unable to warrant this land to Robert fitzHarding he will give him other land of equal value elsewhere. Robert fitzHarding and his heirs are to render a falcon to the donor and his heirs annually for all services. Witnesses: Wandrill de Curcelles [?], Robert Pucherell, Hugh Desloges, Hubert the dapifer, Adam de Eli, Robert de Amari and Robert de Saltemareis.

Text from the original Letters Patent preserved in the Archives of the Corporation of Bristol (C.T.'s Department: Royal Charters and Letters Patent: 01218), consisting of a single membrane measuring 38 × 22½ in. The Great Seal, which is missing, was attached to the folded bottom margin by green and white silk cords interwoven with gold tinsel, which remain passed through holes in the fold in the usual manner. Blank spaces have been left for the initial letters in the first line.

Endorsements: (in late hands)

Henry 7th 1485

Henry 7 1485.

Confirmation Roll, 1 H. VIII, pt. 7, mm. 20-21 (P.R.O. C 56/31); Latimer, *Calendar*, 98-100.

(x) Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem. Inspeximus litteras patentes domini Edwardi quondam Regis Anglie Magistro et fratribus domus sancti Marci <2> iuxta Bristoll' factas in hec verba. Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem Sciatis quod per finem quem Dilectus nobis in cristo Prior Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Baptiste de Welles fecit nobiscum concessimus

¹ Robert may be a scribal error. Earl Robert's known sons were William, who succeeded him in the earldom of Gloucester, Roger, bishop of Worcester, and Richard fitzCount.

et licenciam dedimus <3> pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est Dilecto nobis in cristo fratri Willelmo Magistro domus sancti Marci extra Bristoll' quod ipse totum ius et clameum que habet in vno mesuagio cum pertinenciis in Welles quod predictus Prior modo tenet vt dicitur remittere possit et quietum clamare pro se et successoribus <4> suis imperpetuum Et quod predictus prior pro se et successoribus suis mesuagium predictum cum pertinenciis onerare possit prefato Magistro et successoribus suis in quindecim solidis . Percipiendis et habendis singulis annis de mesuagio predicto ad quorumcumque manus deuenit imperpetuum . Et eidem priori quod ipse mesuagium <5> predictum cum pertinenciis habeat et teneat sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum Et predicto magistro quod ipse et successores sui redditum predictum de mesuagio predicto percipeant et habeant imperpetuum sicut predictum est tenore presencium similiter licenciam dedimus specialem Statuto de terris et tenementis ad <6> manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante . Nolentes quod predictus prior vel successores sui aut prefatus magister seu successores sui ratione statuti predicti per nos vel heredes nostros inde occasionentur in aliquo seu grauentur Saluis tamen Capitalibus dominis feodi illius seruiciis inde debitis et consuetis <7> In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste meipso apud Nōtingham sextodecimo die Septembris Anno regni nostri quarto . Inspeximus eciam litteras patentes domini Edwardi nuper Regis Anglie progenitoris nostri eisdem Magistro et fratribus domus predictae factas in hec verba <8> Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem . Licet de communi consilio regni nostri statutum sit quod non liceat viris Religiosis seu aliis ingredi feodum alicuius ita quod ad manum mortuam deueniat sine licencia nostra et Capitalis domini de <9> quo res illa immediate tenetur . per finem tamen quem Dilectus nobis Robertus Gyene de Bristoll' fecit nobiscum concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est eidem Roberto quod ipse vnum mesuagium et duas acras terre cum pertinenciis in suburbio Bristoll' <10> dare possit et assignare Dilectis nobis in cristo Magistro et fratribus domus sancti Marci de Billeswyk iuxta Bristoll' habenda et tenenda sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum ad inueniendum quendam Capellanum regularem et fratrem dicte domus diuina in ecclesia eiusdem domus pro salubri statu predicti <11> Roberti quamdiu vixerit et pro anima eius cum ab hac luce migrauerit ac animabus Margarete quondam uxoris eius-

dem Roberti et Vincentii de Barstaple ac omnium fidelium defunctorum singulis diebus celebratura imperpetuum Et eisdem Magistro et fratribus quod ipsi predicta mesuagium et terram <12> cum pertinentiis a prefato Roberto recipere possint et tenere sibi et successoribus suis ad inueniendum Capellanum predictum imperpetuum sicut predictum est tenore presencium Similiter licenciam dedimus specialem Nolentes quod predictus Robertus vel heredes sui aut prefati Magister et <13> fratres seu successores sui ratione statutij predicti per nos vel heredes nostros inde occasionentur in aliquo seu grauentur Saluis tamen Capitalibus dominis feodi illius seruiciis inde debitis et consuetis . In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste Edwardo Duce <14> Cornubie et Comite Cestrie filio nostro Carissimo Custode Anglie apud Kenyngton tercio die Februarii Anno regni nostri quarto-decimo . Inspecimus insuper Cartam quam bone memorie Dominus Henricus quondam Rex Anglie progenitor noster fecit prefatis Magistro et fratribus in hec verba <15> Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie Dux Normannie Aquitanie et Comes Andegaui Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliis et fidelibus suis salutem Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Magistro et fratribus <16> Hospitalis sancti Marci de Billeswyk iuxta Bristoll' quod ipsi et successores sui imperpetuum habeant liberam warrenam in omnibus dominicis terris suis de Poulet et Stoclaund Ita quod nullus intret terras illas ad fugandum in eis vel ad aliquid capiendum quod ad warennam pertineat sine licencia et voluntate ipsorum Magistri et fratrum <17> vel successorum suorum super forisfacturam nostram decem librarum Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predicti Magister et fratres et eorum successores imperpetuum habeant liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis de Poulet et Stoclaund Ita quod nullus intret terras illas ad fugandum <18> in eis vel ad aliquid capiendum quod ad warennam pertineat sine voluntate ipsorum magistri et fratrum vel successorum suorum super forisfacturam nostram decem librarum sicut predictum est . Hiis testibus Radulpho filio Nicholai . Paulino Peyuer[el] . Willelmo de Say . Roberto de Muscegros . Willelmo de Syuago . Willelmo de Bello Monte . Roberto de Norreys . <19> Iohanne de Geres . et aliis. Data per manum nostram apud Merleberg' vicesimo die Iulii Anno regni nostri tricesimo primo. Inspecimus eciam quandam aliam cartam predicti Domini Henrici quondam Regis Anglie progenitoris

- (4) nostri predictis Magistro et fratribus factam in hec verba • Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus <20> Hibernie Dux Normannie Aquitanie et Comes Andegauie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliuis et fidelibus suis salutem Sciatis nos concessisse et hec carta nostra confirmasse Henrico de Gaunt Magistro domus sancti Marci de Billeswyk in suburbio Bristoll' quod <21> ipse et successores sui Magistri domus predictae imperpetuum habeant vnam feriam apud Manerium suum de Poulet in Comitatu Somerset' singulis annis per tres dies duraturam videlicet in vigilia in die et in crastino Decollationis sancti Iohannis Baptiste nisi feria illa sit ad nocumentum vicinarum feriarum Quare volumus et firmiter <22> precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predictus Magister et successores sui Magistri domus predictae imperpetuum habeant feriam predictam apud predictum Manerium suum de Poulet in Comitatu predicto cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad huiusmodi feriam pertinentibus nisi feria illa sit ad nocumentum vicinarum feriarum sicut predictum est • Hiis <23> testibus Ricardo de Clare Comite Glouc[estrie] et Hereford' (*sic*) • Rogero le Bigod Comite Norff[olk] et Mariscallo Anglie • Iohanne Plesse[tis] Comite Warr[wic'] • Roberto Walerand • Willelmo de Grey • Imberto Pugeis • Waltero de Merton • Willelmo de Sancta Erminia • Bartho[lomeo] le Bigod • Willelmo Gernun • et aliis • Data per manum nostram apud Couentriam vicesimo quinto die Iulii Anno regni nostri quadragesimo primo <24> Inspeximus insuper Cartam quam celebris memorie Dominus Edwardus quondam Rex Anglie progenitor noster fecit eisdem Magistro et fratribus in hec verba • Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus <25> Balliuis et fidelibus suis salutem Inspeximus cartam quam celebris memorie Dominus Henricus quondam Rex Anglie Auus noster fecit deo et beate Marie et beato Marco et Magistro elemosinarie de Billeswyk in hec verba • Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie Dux Normannie Aquitanie et Comes Andegauie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus <26> Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliuis et fidelibus suis, salutem Sciatis nos intuitu dei et pro salute anime nostre et pro animabus antecessorum et heredum nostrorum concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse pro nobis et heredibus nostris deo et beate Marie et beato Marco et Magistro <27> elemosinarie de

Billeswyk donaciones et concessioness subscriptas videlicet de dono Roberti de Gurnay manerium de Poulet cum pertinenciis suis ad sustentacionem predicti Magistri et trium Capellanorum ibidem perpetuo pro fidelibus celebrancium et ad refeccionem pauperum singulis diebus imperpetuum et molendina de Wer' et de <28> Radewyk cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et quatuor mercatas redditus cum pertinenciis suis in Bristoll' et domos suas quas idem Robertus habuit in Billeswyk cum pertinenciis suis . De dono Andree Luterel' Manerium de Stokeland cum omnibus pertinenciis suis . De dono Mauricii de Gaunt sectam illam de Stokeland que spectabat ad <29> hundredum de Caninton' . habenda et tenenda bene et in pace libere et quiete sicut carte predictorum donatorum in quibus donaciones et concessioness predictae plenius continentur et quas predictus Magister inde habet rationabiliter testantur Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predictus Magister et successores <30> sui imperpetuum habeant et teneant omnes donaciones et concessioness predictas bene et in pace libere et quiete cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad predictas donaciones et concessioness pertinentibus sicut predictum est . Hiis testibus Venerabili patre P[etro] Wintoniensi Episcopo . I[ohanne] Comite Huntingd[on] . I[ohanne] <31> de Lascy Comite de Lincoln' et Constabulario Cestr[ie] . S[tephano] de Segraue Iusticiario nostro . Radulpho filio Nichol[ai] . Godfr[edo] de Crantunib[us] . Willelmo filio Warini . Henrico de Capella . et aliis . Data per manum Venerabilis patris Radulphi Cicestrensis Episcopi Cancellarii nostri apud Norhant[on] decimo octauo die Nouembris Anno regni nostri septimo decimo . Inspeximus <32> eciam cartam confirmacionis quam bone memorie dominus Edwardus quondam Rex Anglie pater noster fecit deo et beate Marie et dicte ecclesie de Billeswyk ac Magistro et fratribus loci illius in hec verba Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus <33> Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Balliuis et fidelibus suis salutem Inspeximus cartam quam antequam regni nostri gubernacula suscepimus deo et beate Marie et ecclesie sancti Marci de Billeswyk iuxta Bristoll' et Magistro et fratribus ibidem deo seruientibus fecimus in hec verba . Edwardus illustris Regis <34> Anglie primogenitus Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenierint, salutem in domino sempiternam Sciatis quod pro salute anime nostre et antecessorum nostrorum dedimus et concessimus

(b)

et presenti carta confirmauimus deo et beate Marie et ecclesie sancti Marci de Billeswyk iuxta Bristoll' et Magistro et fratribus ibidem deo <35> seruientibus ad sustentationem pauperum Manerium nostrum de Wynterburn' Gunnore quod habuimus de dono et concessione domini nostri Regis . habendum et tenendum dictum Manerium cum omnibus pertinenciis suis in puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam de nobis et heredibus nostris libere quiete integre pacifice in feodo <36> et hereditate imperpetuum Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod pro salute [anime] nostre et antecessorum nostrorum predictus Magister et fratres ecclesie sancti Marci de Billeswyk iuxta Bristoll' ad sustentationem pauperum habeant et teneant manerium nostrum de Wynterburn' Gunnore <37> quod habuimus de dono et concessione domini Regis patris nostri cum pertinenciis suis in puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam de nobis et heredibus nostris libere quiete pacifice in feodo et hereditate imperpetuum vt predictum est . Hiis testibus Dominis Thoma de Clare . Roberto Agillon' . Rogero de Leyburn' . Roberto Waleraund . <38> Roberto Tybetot . Pagano de Chawrcis . Hugone filio Ottonis . Iohanne de la lynde . et aliis . Data apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quinto die Octobris anno regni domini Regis patris nostri quinquagesimo secundo . Nos autem donacionem concessionem et confirmacionem predictas ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris <39> concedimus et confirmauimus prout carta predicta rationabiliter testatur . Hiis testibus Venerabilibus patribus I[ohanne] Wintoniensi . R[oberto] Bathoniensi et Wellensi Cancellario nostro . et A[ntonio] Dunelmensi . Episcopis . Edmundo fratre nostro . Wilhelmo de Valenc[ia] Auunculo nostro . Gilberto de Clare Comite Gloucestrie et Hereford' (sic) . Henrico de Lacy Comite Lincoln' . Ricardo <40> de Bosco . et aliis . Data per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium tricesimo die Maii Anno regni nostri decimo octauo . Nos autem concessionem et confirmacionem predictas necnon donacionem et concessionem quas Alexander Daundo Miles fecit eisdem Magistro et fratribus de tota terra sua et bosco qui vocatur Halfbarwe cum <41> pertinenciis in Manerio de Aychton' et donacionem et concessionem quas Idonia Gaunsel qui fuit uxor Ricardi Venatoris fecit eisdem Magistro et fratribus de tota terra sua et ten[ementa] que habuit vel habere potuit in la Lee et hanedon¹ et Hogeston' et in terra que vocatur <42> Sturte in Gete cum omnibus pertinenciis suis tam in aduocacionibus Capellarum

¹ or haunedon'

- de la Lee et de Erdecote quam in dominiis Villenagiis in redditibus in Escaetis in custodiis et in liberorum homagiis et eorum seruiis et cum omni iure predictae terre ad ipsam vel ad heredes suos spectante Et donacionem et concessionem quas Ricardus Curteys filius <43> et heres Ricardi Curteys de Bristoll' fecit predictis Magistro et fratribus de toto prato suo cum omni iure et clameo que inde habuit vel habere potuit . quod quidem pratum vocatur Wambrok cum pertinenciis et donacionem et concessionem quas Willelmus Canuell' fecit eisdem Magistro et fratribus de toto tenemento suo quod habuit <44> vel habere potuit de Iohanne le Grun scilicet de Deliaueur et linagan' cum pertinenciis ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est concedimus et confirmauimus sicut carte et confirmacio dictorum progenitorum nostrorum et scripta predictorum donatorum predictis Magistro <45> et fratribus inde confecta racionabiliter testantur . Hiis testibus Venerabili patre W[altero] Wigornensi Episcopi . Gilberto de Clare Comite Gloucestr' et Hereford' (sic) . Adomaro de Valencia Comite Pembroch . Iohanne de Britannia Comite Richmund' . Hugone le Despenser . Roberto filio Pagani . Edmundo de Malo lacu Senescallo Hospicii nostri . et aliis . Data per <46> manum nostram apud Westmonasterium Primo die Maii Anno regni nostri sexto . Inspeximus eciam quasdam litteras patentes dicti domini E[dwardi] progenitoris nostri prefatis magistro et fratribus factas in hec verba . Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint <47> salutem Sciatis quod per finem quem Magister domus sancti Marci Bristoll' fecit nobiscum concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est eidem Magistro et fratribus eiusdem domus quod ipsi ecclesiam de Stokland que est de aduocatione sua propria appropriare et eam appropriatam <48> in proprios vsus tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum Iusticiariorum Escaetorum Vicecomitum aut aliorum Balliuorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante <49> In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes . Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium septimo die Februarii Anno regni nostri octauo . Inspeximus insuper quasdam litteras patentes eiusdem domini E[dwardi] progenitoris nostri eisdem Magistro et fratribus factas in hec verba . Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie <50> Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie Omnibus ad quos pre-

sentis littere peruenerint salutem Quia accepimus per Inquisicionem quam per Dilectum nobis Robertum de Bilkemore Escacetorem nostrum in Comitatus Somerset' Dorset' Deuon' et Cornubie fieri fecimus quod non est ad dampnum seu preiudicium nostrum aut aliorum si concedamus <51> venerabili patri Iohanni Bathoniensi et Wellensi Episcopo quod ipse aduocacionem ecclesie de Ouerstaweie dare possit et assignare Dilectis nobis in cristo Magistro et fratribus domus sancti Marci¹ iuxta Bristoll . habendam et tenendam sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum in escambium pro quater viginti acris more situ vnus molendini et exclusis eiusdem vnacum <52> cursu aque que ducit ad situm predictum cum pertinenciis in Cumpton' Ceddre et Netherwere eidem Episcopo et successoribus suis per prefatos Magistrum et fratres dandis et concedendis imperpetuum Et quod aduocacio predicta tenetur de nobis in capite tanquam pertinens ad Episcopatum predictum et dicta ecclesia valet per annum iuxta <53> verum valorem eiusdem decem marcas Et quod dicta mora tenetur de prefato Episcopo ratione Maneriorum suorum de Cumpton' et Ceddre que idem Episcopus tenet de nobis tanquam parcella baronie mee² et quod dicta mora valet per annum in omnibus exitibus Centum solidos . quodque dictus situs molendini cursus aque cum exclusis <54> et secta molendini eiusdem tam tenentur de aliis quam de nobis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam et valent per annum in omnibus exitibus Centum solidos . Nos per finem quem prefatus Magister fecit nobiscum concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est eidem Episcopo quod ipse aduocacionem <55> ecclesie predictae dare possit et assignare eidem Magistro et fratribus habendam et tenendam sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum in escambium pro dictis quater viginti acris more situ molendini cursu aque cum exclusis et secta molendini cum pertinenciis eidem Episcopo et successoribus suis per prefatos Magistrum et fratres dandis et <56> concedendis Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante . Et eisdem Magistro et fratribus quod ipsi aduocacionem predictam a prefato Episcopo recipere et ecclesiam illam appropriare et in proprios usus tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum Aceciam eidem Episcopo quod ipse predictos <57> moram situm molendini cursum aque cum exclusis et sectam molendini cum pertinenciis ab eisdem Magistro et fratribus recipere possit et tenere sibi et successoribus suis

¹ *sancti Marci* written over an erasure.

² *baronie mee* written over an erasure.

(8) predictis imperpetuum in escambium sicut predictum est tenore presencium similiter licenciam dedimus specialem Statuto predicto non obstante . Nolentes quod <58> predictus Episcopus vel successores sui aut prefati Magister et fratres vel eorum successores ratione premissorum per nos vel heredes nostros inde molestentur in aliquo seu grauentur Saluis tamen nobis et aliis Capitalibus Dominis feodorum illorum seruiciis inde debitis et consuetis . In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri <59> fecimus patentes . Teste me ipso apud Porcestr[iam] octauo die Septembris Anno regni nostri vicesimo Inspeximus eciam litteras patentes quas Dominus H[enricus] nuper Rex Anglie progenitor noster fecit predictis Magistro et fratribus in hec verba . Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes <60> littere peruenerint . Salutem . Inspeximus cartam Roberti filii Comitis Gloucestrie factam in hec verba . Robertus filius Comitis Gloucestrie Domino suo ac patri Roberto filio Regis Gloucestrie Comiti Omnibusque amicis suis et hominibus Francis et Anglicis salutem Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Roberto filio harding et heredibus suis totam villam meam de Poelet per¹ <61> xv libratas terre et illam de Buro per c solidatas terre et in bosco et plano in pratis et in agris cum tollo et themo et sacco et socno et infangnethfe et cum omnibus earundem pertinentibus sibi et heredibus suis tenendam de me et heredibus meis libere et iuste et quiete et honorifice in feodo et hereditate Et si hanc terram ei vel suis warantizare <62> non possim alibi de terra mea totidem eiusdem valencie ei aut suis dabo Et Robertus herd[ing] filius vel sui heredes Roberto filio Comitis vel suis heredibus pro omni seruicio [vno]quoque anno vnum aucipitrem saurum dabunt Testibus Wandr[illo?] de Curc[ello?] • Roberto Pucherell' • et Hugone Desloges • et Huberto Dapifero • et Adam de Eli • et Roberto de Amari • et Roberto de <63> Saltemareis • Nos autem donacionem et concessionem predictas ac omnia et singula in carta predicta contenta rata habentes et grata ea pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est acceptamus et approbamus ac Dilectis nobis in cristo Willelmo lane Magistro domus siue hospitalis sancti Marci Bristoll' et fratribus eiusdem <64> domus siue hospitalis nunc tenentibus villas et terras predictas vt dicitur et eorum successoribus tenore presencium confirmauimus prout carta predicta racionabiliter testatur . In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes . Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium sexto die Maii Anno regni nostri Sexto . Nos autem Cartas et litteras <65> pre-

¹ *per* in full in the MS.

dictas ac omnia et singula in eisdem contenta rata habentes et grata ea pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis [est] acceptamus et approbamus ac Dilectis nobis in cristo ¹Magistro domus siue hospitalis predictæ et fratribus eiusdem domus siue hospitalis et successoribus suis tenore presencium ratificamus et confirmamus <66> prout carte et littere predictæ rationabiliter testantur . In cuius rei testimonium [has litteras] nostras fieri fecimus patentes . Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium Vicesimo Septimo die Marcii Anno regni nostri primo.

Yong.

pro decem solidis solutis in hanaperio.

Examine per Iohannem Yong et Willelmum Malhom clericos

Irrotulatur

¹ Illegible. The word may be *nunc*.

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